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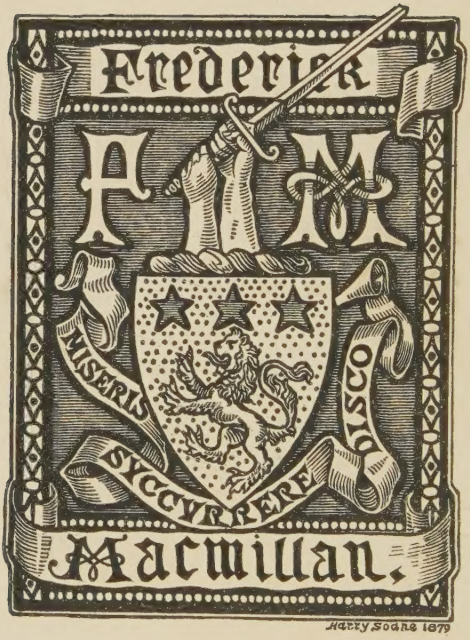
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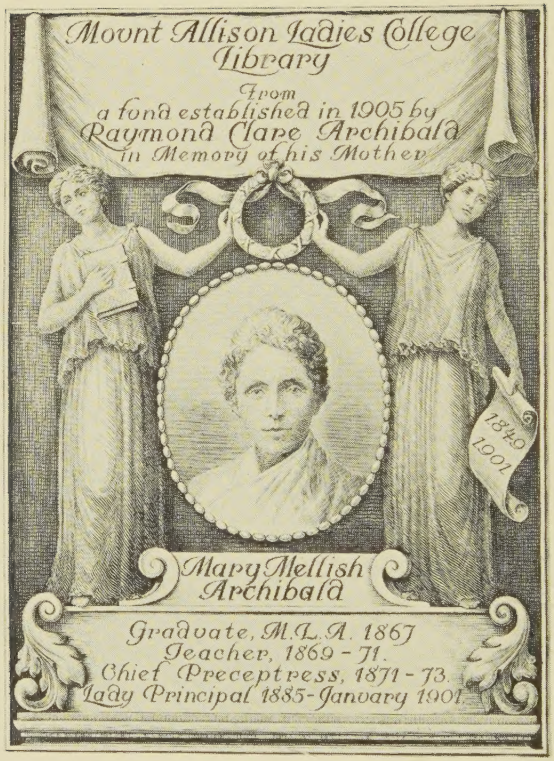
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THE LIFE

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JOHN MILTON,

AND

HISTORY OF HIS TIME.

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THE LIFE

OF

JOHN MILTON:

NARRATED IN CONNEXION WITH

THE POLITICAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, AND LITERARY

HISTORY OF HIS TIME.

Mary Moiller
Archibald
Memorial

BY

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PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC AND ENGLISH LITERATURE
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

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PREFACE TO VOL. II.

When I first undertook this Work, it was my deliberate purpose to make it not only a complete Biography of Milton, but also, in a certain studied connexion therewith, the channel of which might widen or narrow itself on occasion, a continuous Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of England through Milton's whole Time. This I announced in the title of the Work, and in my Preface to the First Volume; but I am not sure that the announcement made way fast enough to adjust that Volume at once to preconceived ideas of literary form. Now, while it is the right of the public to say what they want in the shape of a book, it is equally the right of an author to say what he means to offer; and, accordingly, I repeat that this Work is not a Biography only, but a Biography together with a History. As regards the extent and minuteness of the included Biography, I do not anticipate that there will be much complaint. Of brief Lives of Milton the number is already past counting; I have been guilty of more than one such myself: if anything more is wanted, it certainly seems to be some such larger and more particular Biography as that which I am now prosecuting. What may be less according to precedent and expectation is the combination of such a Biography with a contemporary History. The reason for the combination, however, lies deeper than my own mere pleasure in the toil of a complex enterprise. Whatever may be thought by a hasty person looking in on the subject from

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the outside, no one can study the Life of Milton as it ought to be studied without being obliged to study, extensively and intimately, the contemporary History of England, and even, incidentally, of Scotland and Ireland too. Experience has confirmed my previous conviction that it must be so. Again and again, in order to understand Milton, his position, his motives, his thoughts by himself, his public words to his countrymen, and the probable effects of those words, I have had to stop in the mere Biography, and range round, largely and windingly, in the History of his Time, not only as it is presented in well-known books, but as it had to be re-discovered by express and laborious investigation in original and forgotten records. Thus, on the very compulsion, or at least by the suasion, of the Biography, a History grew on my hands. It was not in human nature to confine the historical inquiries, once they were in progress, within the precise limits of their demonstrable bearing on the Biography, even had it been possible to determine these limits beforehand; and so the History assumed a co-ordinate importance with me, was pursued often for its own sake, and became, though always with a sense of organic relation to the Biography, continuous in itself. I venture to think that this incessant connexion of the History and the Biography in my own thoughts through many years, the History always sending me back more fully informed for the Biography, and the Biography again suggesting new tracks for the History, is a sufficient warrant for the form of the publication. In the present volume, however, I have adopted an arrangement which may suit most readers. A glance at the Table of Contents will show what the reader is to expect throughout, and will enable him to select or to omit. Only I should wish it to be distinctly understood that the History is not offered as a mere popular compilation, to serve as stuffing or setting for the Biography, but as a work of independent search and method from first to last, which has

cost more labour by far than the Biography, and for which I accept equal responsibility.

It was my wish to publish Volumes II. and III. together; and, though Volume II. now appears by itself, Volume III. is ready for the press, and will follow speedily. Even so, in recognition of much friendliness towards Volume I., the interval between that Volume and this continuation may seem to need an apology. Well, I will not say but that, if there had been any extraordinary or universal avidity for the continuation, it might have been forthcoming somewhat sooner. Frankly, however, I can aver that I have always been faithful in secret to my undertaking, and have devoted to it as much time as other indispensable duties would permit, and more than is likely ever to be recompensed by anything added to the pure love of the labour. Of the multiplicity and extent of the researches that were required any general account would be tedious here. There are indications of my authorities, at the proper points, in the foot-notes; where also I have made various acknowledgments of private help and kindness. Perhaps, however, I may advert specially to my obligations to the State Paper Office in London. Where there are printed calendars of the State Papers, the task of consulting them is easy; one knows from the calendar what each paper is about, and asks for the original of any particular paper one wants to see. Unfortunately, when I began my readings in the great national Repository, the Domestic Papers for the period of most interest to me were utterly uncalendared. They had, therefore, to be brought to me in bundles (sometimes several thick bundles for one month), and inspected carefully paper by paper, each on chance, lest anything useful should be skipped. In this way I had to persevere at a slow rate in my readings and note-takings; but I believe I can now say that, for much the greater part of the time embraced in the present Volume, there is not a single domestic document extant of those that used

to be in the State Paper Office which I have not passed through my hands and scrutinized. Apart from the information derived for my immediate purposes, it was a valuable education. It is rather long ago now; and, as I write, the memory rises of old summer-days passed in a room in the State Paper Office, then located in St. James's Park, and of the faces of a few others I used then to see constantly in the same room, quietly busy, like myself, among the handwritings of the dead. Alas! and of the kindly officials who were then so ready with their aid, there was one, among the kindliest of all and the fullest of knowledge, whom I shall never more see, to interrogate or to thank. How much of learning in English History through the reigns of James and Charles and the Time of the Commonwealth died with the gentle and accurate Mr. John Bruce! With his name, if with any, I may appropriately connect one closing remark, addressed especially to those few readers who may bring to these pages something of his practice in records and strict eye for truth. Accuracy in History is everything; without accuracy, all else is but as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. This I have tried to make my canon throughout; and yet I will here confess that I never can pass a sheet of the historical kind for the press without a dread lest, from inadvertence or from sheer ignorance, some error, some blunder even, may have escaped me. That there are errors in this Volume, some of which will be detected soon, and others never, I have no doubt. Let me hope that those who agree with me most strongly in the main canon will be the readiest to admit also that, when the range of inquiry is widened, when the beaten tracks are left and one explores the thickets on both sides for facts worthy of resuscitation, the risk of error is necessarily increased.

EDINBURGH, *March* 1871.

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BOOK I.

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THE LIFE OF JOHN MILTON,

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CHAPTER I.

THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS—THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON'S MISSION—THE GLASGOW ASSEMBLY OF 1638—THE FIRST *BELLUM EPISCOPALE*, OR "BISHOPS' WAR" WITH THE SCOTS.

MILTON'S return to England, after his fifteen months, more or less, of Continental travel, took place, as he himself tells us, "almost exactly at that time when Charles, the Peace with "the Scots having been broken, was commencing with them "the *Second Bishops' War*, as they call it: in which when the "Royal forces had been routed in the first conflict, and the "King saw all the English likewise, and that deservedly, "most ill disposed towards him, he, on the compulsion of "misfortune, and not spontaneously, not very long afterwards "called a Parliament."[1] The date, more precisely, was July or August 1639.

Before resuming our narrative at this date, it is necessary, for the general purposes of our History, that we should take a retrospect of the course of British events during that *First Bishops' War*, or first war between the Scots and Charles concerning Bishops, to which Milton's words point back as having been begun and concluded during his absence abroad.

[1] *Defensio Secunda:* Works, VI. 289.

For the general purposes of our History, I say, such a retrospect is necessary. As it was in Scotland that the policy of despotism which Charles had been pursuing in all the three kingdoms first sustained any efficient check, so, in the general revolution of the three kingdoms which was approaching, much was to depend on the fact that the initiative of revolt had come from Scotland. Much was to depend on the fact that it was on the impulse of a movement completed by the northern part of the island for itself, and then let loose southwards, that the great English people, or the Puritans among them, began, and for some time continued, the larger movement of which England was the theatre. I do not consider that this portion of Scottish History has been adequately represented in its English connexions.

THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS.

By the end of April 1638 all Scotland, with some fast-waning exceptions, was pledged to the Covenant. The exceptions may be enumerated. First, there were the Lords of the Privy Council and other officials, whose position obliged them to hold out for the King's measures as long as they could; next, there were the actual adherents of Episcopacy, of whom, in addition to the Bishops themselves, and several powerful Lowland houses, there was a sprinkling in some of the chief towns, and a mass in the town and shire of Aberdeen; next, there were some of the Highland clans of the Aberdeenshire borders, and the remoter north, not much exercised in theological controversy, but ready to go with their chiefs; and, lastly, there were the Scottish Papists, to the number of about six hundred persons in all, lodged also principally in Aberdeenshire and the adjacent Highlands, under the protection of the Marquis of Huntley.[1] With the fullest allowance, however, for these outstanding elements, there can be no

[1] For a more detailed enumeration of the elements in Scottish society then opposed to the Covenant, see "*Hist. of Scots Affairs from* 1637 *to* 1641, by James Gordon, Parson of Rothiemay" (Spalding Club), vol. I. 61, 62. Gordon was an Anti-covenanter, and writes in that interest.

doubt that the Scots, as a nation, had not only accepted the Covenant, but accepted it with the fervour of a simultaneous outburst. For many years they had seen measures of ecclesiastical polity which they disliked thrust upon them, through the medium of their own Parliaments, by a King whom they had given to their English neighbours, and who, as sovereign then of a larger nation, was able to act upon the smaller with greater force than when he had lived within it. More recently, under Charles, a persevering English Archbishop had further offended them, by pressing upon them a set of "innovations," the effect of which would have been to make Scotland the experimental nursery-ground for an Episcopacy more extreme than was established in England itself. And now, in final protest against such violence and wrong, virtually the entire nation had bound itself, by a solemn oath before God and the whole world, to renew the struggle against Popery begun by their forefathers, and to resist conjointly to the death the said "late innovations," while preserving their allegiance to the King in whose name they were enforced. So, at last, matters were now understood at the English Court itself. During the months of March and April, posts and messengers from Scotland had been arriving there in rapid succession. There had been messengers from the Scottish Privy Council, followed by some of the chief Councillors themselves; there had been messengers from the Scottish Bishops, followed by some of the Bishops themselves; there had been private letters to Laud; and there had been letters from the Covenanting Chiefs to their countrymen and acquaintances at Court, begging them to support a new "Supplication" to the King which had been sent up by the Covenanters as a body. Whatever may have been the surprise in Laud's mind, and in that of the King, as to the fact of the commotion, they could be under no mistake now as to its extent. "Whae's fule, noo?" asked Archie Armstrong, the King's Fool, of Laud, as he was going to the Council-meeting at Whitehall that had been summoned on the first news of the Covenant; and the jibe so nettled his Grace that he had Archie brought before the Council there and then, and sentenced to lose his place

and his Fool's coat.[1] In short, in April 1638, when Milton departed on his foreign tour, he left his countrymen intent, with various feelings, on the "Scottish business," as on something that was likely to task the statesmanship of the ruling powers for many months to come.

It was difficult for Charles to know how to act. The quarrel was one between himself and his Scottish subjects, with which England was not constitutionally concerned. Hitherto, while seeking to rule Scotland, as well as England, in a despotic manner, and while delegating to the English Archbishop by his side the consideration of Scottish ecclesiastical affairs, he had, like his father before him, been studious to maintain the forms of distinction between the two Crowns, and had always withheld the business of his Scottish realm from the ordinary cognizance of his English Council. To the thorough-going Wentworth, watching from Dublin the progress of the Scottish confusion, this very fact had seemed the real cause why it had gone so far. Not long afterwards, when he sent over to his English correspondents the results of his private ruminations on the subject, he did not hesitate to hint that the confusion might be worth its cost, if only it disposed his Majesty to adhere less firmly to "that unhappy principle of state practised as well by his blessed father," and led him nearer to the arrangement which would ultimately be found necessary for the efficient government of the whole island. That arrangement, as Wentworth thought, required the concentration of the legislative for the whole under his Majesty's palace-roof, and the breaking-up of the separate apparatus of nationality which a beggarly Caledonian tradition had preserved so long in Edinburgh.[2] So theorized Wentworth; but meanwhile the difficulty had to be met in its existing shape. The Scottish revolt, being

[1] Record of Council, of date March 11, 1637-8, in Rushworth, II. 470, 471; and a Letter of Garrard's to Wentworth, of date March 20, among the *Strafford Letters*. Archie, after having his Fool's coat pulled over his ears, was kicked out of the precincts of the Court; and, but for his privilege as Court-Fool, he would have been Star-chambered. He had grown rich in his office; and, after his dismissal, he still loafed about Westminster, revenging himself with jests against Laud and the Scottish Bishops. His successor was a certain Fool called "Muckle John."

[2] See, in *Strafford Letters*, a letter of Wentworth to the Earl of Northumberland, of date July 30, 1638.

the revolt of a nation nominally independent, could not be treated as a rising in Yorkshire or in Lancashire might have been. English forces could hardly be marched north, at a short notice, to trample it out. To this pass, indeed, things might come; and to this pass Charles was resolved that, if necessary, they should be brought. But the method was not practicable at the moment, if for no other reason than that the requisite English forces did not exist. For the moment, and until the English conscience, or the official organs of it, could be reconciled to such a stroke of imperialism, there was but a choice of two alternatives. Either means must be found within Scotland itself to crush the Covenanters, or else they must be pacified by suitable concessions. The harsher alternative was at least thought of. It was reported that Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, and the Chancellor Spotswood, had advised the armed organization, under the King's orders, and with a display of English force in reserve, of the Non-Covenanting elements in Scotland. The Mackenzies, Mackays, Macdonalds, and other extreme northern clans, following the Earl of Seaforth, might unite formidably with the Aberdeenshire Gordons, Grants, Irvings, and others, under the Marquis of Huntley; and, in the south, there might be help from the retainers of the houses of Hamilton, Douglas, Annandale, and Nithsdale. But the diligence of the Covenanters had "prevened" this plan. In whatever districts of the country, remote from Edinburgh, the dubious material was most rife, there their agents and commissioners had been busy. They had been so successful that, when they returned to Edinburgh, they not only brought with them the signatures of "most of "the name of Hamilton, Douglas, Gordon, and all the Camp-"bells without exception," to the national Covenant, but were able also to report that even the northern shires of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Cromarty, Nairn, and Inverness had also "for the most part subscrivit."[1] Unless, therefore, the Aberdeen burgesses, a few Aberdeenshire and Banffshire lairds, and a remnant of the wilder Highlanders, could stand in civil war against the Covenanters, a Scottish civil war;

[1] Baillie's Letters (Laing's edition), I. 70, and Spalding, I. 87, 88.

with England merely looking on and threatening, seemed out of the question. All this being reported at Court, and the majority of the English Councillors being in favour of moderation, it was resolved, "after many tos and fros," to send the Marquis of Hamilton north, as a special Commissioner from the King, with powers to treat with the Covenanters. This was resolved on before the 10th of May, and the Marquis's commission bears date the 20th of that month.

THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON'S MISSION.

In choosing the Marquis of Hamilton as his Commissioner, the King had acknowledged the importance of the occasion. The Marquis was his kinsman and trusted friend. With the exception of the young Duke of Lennox, who, though also of the blood-royal and a Scot by his title, was English by his birth and associations, he was at the head of the Scottish nobility, taking precedence of his two fellow-marquises, Huntley and Douglas; and, although Oxford-bred, and since his boyhood a resident chiefly in England, he had never ceased to attract the eyes of his countrymen, and to be credited by them with a high influence in their affairs. Nay, there was a special possibility of relation between him and them, of which the world had already heard, and of which it was to hear more. It was but eight years since a story had come out, and had even been the subject of legal inquiry, to the effect that the Marquis of Hamilton cherished a secret ambition to be one day King of Scotland. Before Charles's coronation-visit to Scotland in 1633, the Scots, it was said, resenting his long absence, and offended moreover by a proposal which he had made to have the regalia of Scotland transferred to London, so that his coronation might take place there, had begun to ask themselves whether the crown which Charles did not seem to think worth a journey might not have a fitter wearer. Aware of this state of feeling, the young Marquis of Hamilton, it was said, had shown a disposition to traffic with it, especially at the time when, as leader of a volunteer expedition of Scots and others in aid of Gustavus-

Adolphus (1631-2), he had begun to have military dreams. The story from the first had had a very apocryphal look, and the King had shown his disbelief in it. Still it slumbered in the popular memory, and the present mission of the Marquis naturally revived the recollection where it could not be uttered. If such an ambition did lurk in his mind, what an opportunity was now put into his hands! Some small speck of a suspicion of this kind seems to have been attached to the Marquis by ill-natured opinion in certain quarters, even at the date of his mission; and subsequent events in his career enlarged it into a cloud, which still hangs round his name in Royalist histories. For our part, however, we see not the least reason to doubt that Charles was right in treating the suspicion with contempt, and in showing that he did so by an act of public confidence in his cousin. The Marquis undertook his present mission, I should say, with the most sincere wish to fulfil it to the King's desire. As to his ability there might be more question. He was in his thirty-second year; he had seen some service, and had chatted with the great Gustavus and known him in his rages; he was of courtly presence and manners: but, on the whole, his ability was chiefly of that kind which might come from mingling with men personally, with the advantage of being a Marquis and of the blood-royal. In any business with the pen, I should infer, he must have been deficient. His handwriting is rather sprawling, and such letters of his as I have seen are clumsy and unsatisfactory.[1] It was on personal power of negotiation, however, rather than on letter-writing, that he was to depend in his dealings with the Covenanters. It might not be without advantage to him in this respect that his mother, the Marchioness-Dowager, a woman of spirit, and of the family of the Cunninghams, Earls of Glencairn, was

[1] Having seen abundant specimens of the handwriting of Charles, of Laud, of Strafford, of Hamilton, of Arundel, and, indeed, of almost all the statesmen and courtiers of that day, in the State-Paper Office, I may give it as my experience that, generally, the most important men wrote good and legible, if not beautiful, hands. Hamilton's, though a scrawl, is legible. Arundel's letters are short, and with little or nothing in them, in a large, pompous, flowing hand. Laud's hand is compact, good, and clear. Cottington's is a good hand. Charles's is perhaps the most elegant of all, with the exception of Strafford's, which is singularly like it, but still more beautiful.

herself a most zealous Covenanter, and that his sisters were married into the Covenanting houses of Eglintoun and Lindsay. Moreover, he was to take with him, as his chaplain and private adviser, a certain Dr. Walter Balcanquhal, a Scotchman of Cambridge training, who had risen in the English Church to the Deanery of Rochester, had many correspondents among the Scottish clergy, and was reputed a perfect nonsuch, even among Scots, for intriguing ability. Nay, that the hands of the noble Commissioner might be strengthened to the uttermost, it was ordered that all Scotchmen of rank or influence usually residing in England, or who had come up to Court to help in the consultation, should precede him into Scotland, so as to be at his service. Some of the Scottish Bishops and other ecclesiastics who had gone to London were loth to obey this command, and offered meanwhile to reside in Bath—in Bath or anywhere—rather than return to their own country while it was too hot for them. But no excuse was accepted, and go they must.[1]

Among the Scots who had come up to London to give their advice, and who now preceded the Marquis back to Scotland, was one whose name has been yet but barely mentioned in this History. This was Archibald Campbell, Lord Lorne, better known afterwards as Earl and Marquis of Argyle. During the troubles of the preceding year respecting the Service-Book and the Book of Canons, none of the Scottish Privy-Councillors, not actually in league with the Dissentients, had been more fair and courteous to the Dissentients than he; and, though he still held officially with the King, the Covenanters had conceived hopes that his meditations, which were known to be those of a very politic mind, would bring him nearer to them in the end. It was an event greatly to be wished. The circumstances of Lord Lorne, and of the whole Argyle family, at that time, were peculiar. His father, Archibald, 7th Earl of Argyle, who had held that title since 1584, was still alive, but as good as dead to the general world. For in the life of

[1] Burnet's Lives of the Hamiltons (edit. 1852), 1—49; Stevenson's Hist. of the Church of Scotland (one vol. edit. 1840), 224; Baillie, I. 75, 76; and Letters of Balcanquhal in Appendix to Baillie, vols. I. and II.

this now aged peer there had been two stages. His memory could go back to the time when he was a conspicuous man in James's Scottish Court, before James had succeeded to the throne of England. Then he had maintained the Protestant reputation of his family. By his wife, Lady Anne Douglas —daughter of the 1st Earl of Morton, and celebrated as the "Aurora" of the Earl of Stirling's poetry—he had been the father of five children, all of whom had been educated as Protestants. One of these, the only son, was the Lord Lorne with whom we are now concerned—forty years of age, married, and with children; and, of the daughters, one, considerably older than Lorne, was now the Marchioness of Huntley, while another was Countess of Lothian, and a third was the widow of Viscount Kenmure. But from these members of his first family the Earl had long been estranged. As long ago as 1610, he had married, in the parish of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, his second wife, a Roman Catholic English lady, by whom he had had a second family. Having himself become a Roman Catholic in consequence of this marriage, he had gone abroad in the Spanish service against the Hollanders; and, after his return, he had resided chiefly in or near London, in such retirement as was then possible for a Roman Catholic of his rank, and with little correspondence with Scotland, or any of his first family there, unless it might be the Marchioness of Huntley. Nay, in Scotland, it had been found necessary to incapacitate him on account of his religion, and to transfer the estates and the great hereditary power belonging to the house of Argyle to his heir, Lord Lorne. This arrangement, carried through in the Scottish Parliament of 1633, at the time of Charles's coronation-visit, and with his consent, had naturally not improved relations between the father and the son. "Sir, I must know this young man better "than you do," is Clarendon's account, as if from the King's own lips long afterwards, of what the chagrined old Earl had said to the King about this time: "you have brought me low "that you may raise him; which I doubt you will live to "repent: for he is a man of craft, subtlety, and falsehood, "and can love no man; and, if ever he finds it in his power

"to do you mischief, he will be sure to do it." About the truth of which story, though we quote it here for reasons which will appear, there are strong doubts. Certain it is, however, that the superannuated Earl saw little of his son, and led, in his old age, a life of weak and invalid dignity very much by himself. The best glimpse I have found of him is in a poem addressed to him by the Roman Catholic poet, Habington, in his *Castara*. Among other things, Habington says:

> "If your example be obeyed,
> The serious few will live i' the silent shade,
> And not endanger, by the wind
> Or sunshine, the complexion of their mind."

A very pleasant mode of life for those who can follow it, but not the mode of life by which the Campbells had become Earls of Argyle, nor that by which a real Earl of Argyle, whether a Campbell or not, could then lead in Britain. Accordingly, while this Archibald, 7th Earl of Argyle, has his place in the line of the Earls, he is of interest chiefly as the father of that Archibald, Lord Lorne, afterwards 8th Earl, who, with perhaps some of the same hereditary characteristics, was to lead so different a life, and was to transmit the name of Argyle onwards with its greatest increase of fame. Already, as Lord Lorne, a member of the Privy Council, he was so important a man in Scotland that it was a matter of anxiety with the Covenanters what part he would take. For would he not be Earl of Argyle on the death of his superannuated father, and was he not already Earl of Argyle in all but the name? To be Earl of Argyle did not yet mean all that he was to make it to mean; but it meant more than could then be well understood out of Scotland. It meant to be lord of all Argyleshire, with the Isles and West Highlands adjacent, exercising over that vast Gaelic region the power at once of a hereditary Celtic chief and of an authorized justiciary in the name of the Scottish realm; and it meant to possess in Scottish affairs generally all that weight which belonged to the brain of a Campbell, itself not originally

Celtic, wielding as it might please, for any cause or against any cause, those leagues of mountain, loch, and seabord over which such sway had been won for it by ages of past acquisitiveness. Only conceive, for example, one consequence which would have followed if Lorne had declared himself irrevocably against the Covenant. The Marquis of Huntley was his brother-in-law, and it would then have been possible for the two brothers-in-law to hold between them the whole south-west of Scotland on the one hand, and the whole north-east on the other, against the intermediate Lowlands. Little wonder that Lorne's behaviour, when he had been summoned to Court to advise on Scottish affairs, was a matter of deep interest. "We tremble for Lorne," writes Baillie, "that the "King either persuade him to go his way, or find him errands "at Court for a long time." But the news was reassuring. "The plainness of Lorne," says Baillie in a subsequent letter, "is much talked of: nothing he is said to have dissembled "of all he knew of our country's grievances, of his own full "mislike of the Books, of the Articles of Perth, of the "Bishops' misgovernment, of his resolution to leave the "kingdom rather than consent to the pressing of any other, "let be of himself and his servants, with these burdens "which were against conscience." He is said even to have come into personal conflict with Laud on these points; and there is a story that his old father, the Earl, thought it his duty to come forth once more from his "silent shade," and advise his Majesty that, if that son of his were allowed to go back, sorrow and evil would ensue. But Lorne did go back—to become, within a few months (October 1638), Earl of Argyle, by the old peer's long-expected death, and to enter on a very grave and difficult career. Let the reader, for the present, without prejudging that career, distinctly think of him as a man coming into the ascendant in Scotland. Clarendon's account of him as a person of dark and sinuous ways, against whom even his own father had forewarned the King, has been the keynote to most of the representations of him by subsequent English historians. The genius of Scott, too, has helped to stamp permanently on the minds of his own countrymen

an image of him only a shade less unlovely. Who that has read the *Legend of Montrose* can forget "Gillespie Grumach," the wily Presbyterian Marquis, with the severe visage and the sinister cast in one of his eyes at whose castle-gate in Inverary were the block and the sawdust yet wet with the blood of the Children of the Mist, and from whose meshes the valiant Ritt-master, Dugald Dalgetty, escaped so splendidly by recognizing him in his disguise, and leaving him pinned to the ground in his own dungeon? This Gillespie Grumach of the novel, contrasted so strikingly throughout it with Scott's favourite, the chivalrous Montrose, is Scott's representation of our present Lord Lorne at a later period of his life. We shall have to see both the men for ourselves in the light of their own actions. Meanwhile let neither be prejudged. Let Lorne be imagined at the age of forty, sombre and serious in appearance, as Vandyke might have painted a Calvinistic courtier, certainly with an oblique cast in the eye, and certainly with a mind of the astute order, but whether sinister or not as yet unascertained. Let it be remembered also that it was not he that was at present the Covenanter, but his future rival, Montrose. A brave young hot-head of six-and-twenty, Montrose had remained in Scotland, one of the acting chiefs of the Covenanting committee, during that very journey of Lorne's to London from which he was now returning to aid the Marquis of Hamilton.[1]

The Marquis set out from London on Saturday the 26th of May. Eight days brought him to the Scottish border, and on the 5th of June he was at Dalkeith, near Edinburgh. If possible, according to his instructions, he was to avoid making Edinburgh the seat of negotiations. The Covenanters, on the other hand, had determined that at Edinburgh alone would continuous negotiation be convenient; and hence only a few of their chiefs, and they for the sake of form, attended the

[1] Douglas's Scottish Peerage, by Wood (*Argyle*); Habington's Poems, in Chalmers's collection (where see, in addition to the poem to the Earl referred to in the text, one addressed to his second Countess, and an Elegy on the death of a promising son of theirs, "the Hon. Henry Campbell"); Clarendon's Hist. (Oxford, one vol. edit. of 1843), pp. 51, 52; Baillie, I. 65—73.

Marquis either at the Border or at Dalkeith. At length, chiefly by the mediation of Lorne, the matter was arranged, and the Marquis consented to take up his residence in the palace of Holyrood. On the 9th of June he made his public entry into Edinburgh by way of Leith. The gathering to meet him was such as might have greeted Charles himself. There was an assemblage of Covenanters, 20,000 strong, in addition to magistrates and officials in procession, and a multitude of women and children defying number; and at one point of the progress, between Leith and Edinburgh, there was a body of more than 500 clergymen (more than half the clergy of the entire kingdom), posted "on a brae-side on the links," all clad in their black cloaks, and headed by "Mr. "William Livingstone, the strongest in voice and austerest in "countenance of us all," ready with a speech of welcome. This speech was declined by the Marquis, from fear of what might be in it; but his demeanour was most gracious; and the sight of all that throng of his fellow-subjects, men, women and children, doing homage to him as he passed, and crying out this and that about their liberties and their religion, moved him even to tears.[1]

And now for the great work of the negotiation. Who, in the first place, are the negotiating parties? On the one side is the Marquis himself, surrounded by those Lords of the Council and others who, not having subscribed the Covenant, might be presumed anxious to bring about whatever settlement the Marquis might propound as the King's pleasure. There was the Chancellor-Archbishop Spotswood, with other prelates more in the background; there were the Treasurer Traquair, and the Privy Seal Roxburgh; there was the Marquis of Huntley; there were the Earls of Marischal, Mar, Moray, Linlithgow, Perth, Wigton, Kinghorn, Tullibardine, Haddington, Annandale, Lauderdale, Kinnoull, Dumfries, Southesk, Angus, and Morton; there were the Lords Lorne, Belhaven, Elphinstone, Napier, Dalzell, and Almont; and, among others, there were the Treasurer-Depute Sir James Carmichael, the King's Advocate Sir Thomas Hope, the Clerk-

[1] Rushworth, II. 749, 750; Baillie, I. 82—84; and Stevenson, 226, 227.

Register Sir John Hay, the Chief Justice Sir William Elphinstone, and the Justice-Clerk Sir John Hamilton. Not that all of these were equally committed. Some, such as Lorne and Sir Thomas Hope, were almost completely with the Covenanters at heart; and others were waiting anxiously for the production of the Marquis's proposals, and hoping that they would not be too Prelatic. On the other side were the Covenanting Chiefs, lay and clerical, acting together under regular commissions for the country at large, and suffering nothing to go forth as the opinion of the body until after it had been fully determined in their four Committees, or "Tables," of the Nobles, the Barons or Lairds, the Burghs, and the Clergy, respectively or in conference. From time to time, as the negotiation goes on, the actual composition of the several Tables is changed, to avoid the inconvenience of detaining the same men so long from their homes and occupations. The leaders are, however, the same throughout. Among the Nobles are the Earls of Rothes, Cassilis, Montrose, Sutherland, Eglintoun, and Lothian, and the Lords Loudoun, Wemyss, Home, Lindsay, Yester, Burleigh, Cranstoun, Boyd, Sinclair, and Balmerino; among the Lairds and the Commissioners from the Burghs are Johnstone of Warriston, Douglas of Cavers, Gibson of Durie, John Smith of Edinburgh, &c.; and among the Clergy are such resident ministers of Edinburgh as Mr. Andrew Ramsay and Mr. Henry Rollock, and such distinguished deputies from other Presbyteries as Mr. Alexander Henderson, Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Andrew Cant, Mr. Robert Baillie, and Mr. Samuel Rutherford. Young Mr. George Gillespie, just appointed to the parish of Wemyss in Fifeshire, and now known as the author of the anonymous book, "The English-Popish Ceremonies," which had given such offence to the Prelatists in the previous year, is beginning to be talked of as one of the "rising wits" of the clerical body, and to have some weight in the counsels of his seniors. The men named are, in fact, the real Government of Scotland, reposing on the all but universal feeling of the people: the Marquis is but the plenipotentiary sent to treat with them, and associated for that purpose with the wrecks

of the former Government or King's Council. Between the two parties move the intriguers, Balcanquhal and others. Certain pens also are permanently busy on both sides. On the side of the Covenanters it is Mr. Henderson, minister of Leuchars in Fifeshire, that is always applied to when a paper of unusual weight and ability is wanted; and it is the lawyer, Johnstone of Warriston, that registers everything, takes copies of everything, sees that all is in form, and unites the vigilance of a secretary-in-chief with the laboriousness of a clerk.

Negotiations must be on some basis. It is implied in the very word that certain demands are put forth on the one side and certain offers on the other, and that there is a trial of firmness and skill to determine in what way the offers and demands are to be made to meet. What were the demands of the Covenanters? These had already been formally made known at Court as reducible to eight—(1) the discharging of the Service-Book and the Book of Canons; (2) the abolition of the High Commission as a judicatory in any form; (3) the repeal of the Articles of Perth; (4) the limitation of the civil power of Kirkmen, if not their entire exclusion from Parliament; (5) the discontinuance of certain tests and oaths used by the Bishops to exclude or eject persons of Presbyterian views from parish-livings, schools, and the Universities; (6) the restitution of General Assemblies of the Kirk, and the speedy holding of one; (7) the speedy calling of a Parliament; (8) liberty both in the Assembly and the Parliament to discuss other reforms in detail.[1] As meeting these demands, what was the Marquis empowered to offer? We know this very exactly now from certain documents which he carried with him, bearing date before his commission, but which he did not find it convenient or indeed possible fully to divulge. One was a Royal Declaration or Proclamation, which he was to publish when he saw fit. Its purport was that his Majesty, being and always having been a sound Protestant, could not but consider the fears of his Scottish subjects as to any intended "inbringing of Popery" among them under his rule totally unreasonable; but that, to allay these fears, he

[1] See Original Paper in Stevenson, 218—220.

was willing that the Service-Book and the Canons should not be pressed except in a legal way, that the High Commission should be rectified, and that an Assembly and a Parliament should be called at a convenient time. These favours, however, were to be conditional on the immediate return of his Scottish subjects to their allegiance; and this was to be proved by their appearing before competent authorities "in burgh and land" and individually renouncing the Covenant, and by their "delivering up or continuing with their best endeavours to procure the delivering up," into the hands of the Council or their agents, all copies of the Covenant.[1] In the private instructions of the Marquis there were certain farther explanations for his own guidance. Before publishing the Royal Declaration he was to endeavour to get all the Council to sign it and swear to assist in executing it; no petitions were to be received against the Declaration or against the Articles of Perth, and, if any dared to protest against the Declaration, they were to be arrested; nevertheless, the Articles of Perth were in the meantime not to be enforced, and all acts enforcing the Service-Book were to be void. The time to be allowed for delivering up the Covenant was to be six weeks after the publishing of the Declaration; and, if necessary, it was to be announced that, should there not be sufficient power in Scotland to overcome opposition, power should come from England, and the King himself with it, "being resolved to hazard his life rather than suffer authority "to be contemned." Finally, should words be of no avail, the Marquis himself was to "command all hostile acts whatsoever," and so commence the inevitable war.[2]

The Marquis had not been two days on the Scottish side of the Border when, as if informed as to the real state of things by the very air that blew about him, he had become convinced that it would be madness to publish the King's Declaration, or even to let its contents be generally known. To this effect he must have written to the King before leaving

[1] Burnet's Lives of the Hamiltons (1677), pp. 43, 46. Burnet gives two drafts of the Proclamation,—a stronger and earlier, and a milder and later.

[2] See the instructions in Rushworth, II. 746, 747; and in Stevenson, 222—224.

Dalkeith; for, in a letter dated "Greenwich June 11," Charles replies in a strain of anger and chagrin. "I expect not," he says, "anything can reduce that people to obedience but force "only; in the meantime your care must be how to dissolve "the multitude, and, if it be possible, to possess yourself of "my two castles of Edinburgh and Stirling (which I do not "expect); and, to this end, I give you leave to flatter them "with what hopes you please, so you engage not me against "my grounds, and in particular that you consent not to "the calling of Parliament nor of General Assembly until the "Covenant be disavowed and given up—your chief end "being now to win time, until I be ready to suppress them." His Majesty farther says that, should the Declaration be published, the Marquis need not observe his previous instruction to declare traitors all who should not within six weeks obey the command to renounce the Covenant, but may wait till he hears that a fleet "hath set sail for Scotland" before adopting that measure.[1] Received by the Marquis in Edinburgh on the 15th of June, this letter becomes a supplement to his original instructions.

To narrate step by step the progress of the negotiations or seeming negotiations between Hamilton and the Covenanting leaders in Edinburgh would be tedious. A sketch must suffice:—Acting on his paramount instruction "to win time," the Marquis prudently kept the Royal Declaration in his pocket, not venturing to try its effects even on the Councillors. But the Covenanters, having obtained a general knowledge of its contents, and especially of its demand of a surrender of the Covenant as conditional to even such unsatisfactory scraps of concession as it promised, were prepared, whensoever and wheresoever it might be published by the royal heralds, to meet it with as open a protest. Abroad through the land also flew the news of what the unpublished Proclamation contained, so that all the pulpits rang with preachings in defence of the Covenant and against its surrender. A powerful Paper of Reasons on the same subject from the pen of Henderson was put in circulation. Nay, it

[1] Rushworth, II. 752.

began here and there to be discussed, not quite secretly, whether, if the Parliament and the Assembly were obstinately refused by the King except on impossible conditions, the Laws of Scotland and of Nature might not permit equivalent conventions on the mere authority of the subject. Startled more by this last turn of the discussion than by anything else, Hamilton went to the utmost length of kindliness allowed him by his instructions. He conferred with Henderson; he signified that it *was* in his Commission to promise both an Assembly and a Parliament; and, as for the surrender of the Covenant—why, "surrender" was a very strong word, and the Marquis could sympathise with the Covenanters in their feelings about it, but then they also ought to be reasonable! The King was a crowned head; he had his reputation to sustain among crowned heads; this Covenant of a whole nation was an anomaly in Europe, at which all Sovereigns were looking with surprise; how could Charles but feel the matter keenly? But might not the Covenanters themselves smooth the way for him? Might they not put forth, say, some "explication" of their Covenant that would rob it of its defiant and disloyal character, and enable the King to be gracious without too evident an abatement of his kingly dignity?

Such was the tenor of Hamilton's suggestions respecting the Proclamation which he still prudently withheld. He had a kind of success. The Tables, on the 23rd of June, did agree to an "explication" of the Covenant, in which, while reiterating their claims, they professed them and the Covenant to be, in their intent, consistent with that loyalty which they owed to the Government of his Majesty, consecrated as it was "by the descent and under the reigns of 107 kings." Having obtained this explication, and regarding it as at least something that could be pointed to as a proof of his good management, Hamilton suddenly announced that it would be necessary for him to return to Court for personal conference with his Majesty. The Covenanters, though a little vexed at this resolution, were reconciled to it by the promise that none of the Bishops should accompany him. They saw the Marquis depart on Sunday the 1st of July. The very

next day, however, he was back among them. Before he had got far from Edinburgh, letters from the King had reached him in answer to previous letters of his relating to the explication of the Covenant and other matters. "As concerning "the explanation of their damnable Covenant," said his Majesty in a letter dated from Greenwich June 25, "whether "it be with or without explanation, I have no more power in "Scotland than as a Duke of Venice—which I will die rather "than suffer; yet I command the giving ear to their explana- "tion, or anything else, to win time." But the reputed intention of the Covenanters to hold an Assembly and Parliament without his leave had touched his Majesty to the quick. He could "hardly be sorry," he says, if they did go that length; "it would the more loudly declare them traitors and the "more justify my actions;" and "therefore, in my mind, my Declaration should not be long delayed." This was a bare opinion, he added, and no command. Evidently, however, the Marquis received it as a hint that it might be to his discredit at Court if he returned with the Declaration still in his pocket. Hence his reappearance in Edinburgh. During two days he was busy with the Councillors, and with such effect that he obtained the signatures of all of them to the Declaration, except Lorne and Southesk; and on the 4th of July the Declaration was in all form proclaimed at the Cross in the High Street. Not exactly the original Declaration, however—which even the Councillors would not have signed —but a modification of it, dated "Greenwich June 28," containing the same promises as the original, and similar threats, but rather implying the surrender of the Covenant than directly commanding it.[1] For the Covenanters, however, the modified Declaration was as bad as the original would have been, and they met it as they had resolved they would. The moment that the Proclamation had been made by the royal heralds at the Cross, Johnstone of Warriston, stepping forward on a wooden platform which had been erected for the purpose on the same spot, read forth, amid the cheers of the multitude, the prepared document in which he and other represen-

[1] See the Declaration in Rushworth, II. 754, 755.

tatives of the Covenanters, in their several orders as Nobles, Barons, Burgesses, and Clergy, did protest against the Royal Declaration as "miskenning, passing over, and in effect denying" all the matters at issue, as doing wrong to the motives of the nation, and as, in its offers, utterly insufficient.[1] For a day or two afterwards all was anger and turmoil. Rothes, Montrose, and Loudoun came to high words with the Marquis; and the Councillors who had been induced to sign the Declaration repented of their act as a mistake, recovered the copies they had signed, and tore them to pieces. At length ruffled spirits were somewhat calmed, and, on the same understanding as before, the Marquis on the 8th of July did set out for London.

While the Marquis is in London, conferring with the King, let us take a view of the situation for ourselves. Readers of Clarendon may remember what a glowing picture he gives, in the First Book of his History, of the singularly happy condition of the three kingdoms during that period of "Thorough," or arbitrary government by the King, which had now lasted for ten years. Full warehouses, bursting granaries, a prosperity casting the golden days of Elizabeth into the shade, "the greatest calm and the fullest measure of felicity that any people in any age for so long a time together have been blessed with" —such is the picture. When this unexampled calm was disturbed by a rude blast from the North, when into this paradisaic condition of things there entered the Devil from Scotland, then, proceeds the historian, it was owing only to the King's exceeding clemency, to "his excellency of nature and his tenderness of blood," that the interruption was not straightway quashed, and peace and Paradise restored. It was not from lack of means! There was a "stronger fleet at sea than the nation had ever been acquainted with;" the revenue had been "so well improved and so warily managed that there was money in the Exchequer proportionable for the undertaking of any noble enterprise," much more for the putting down of a petty Presbyterian revolt; the English army had "as good and experienced officers as were to be

[1] See Protestation (a long document) in Rushworth, II. 756—761.

found at that time in Christendom!" The contrast between these assertions of Clarendon, which were but his hazy recollections of the time long after it was gone, and the authentic statements of contemporary documents, is one of the curiosities of historical literature. Charles, we have seen, had negotiated with the Scots only because he lacked means for a more imperious mode of dealing with them. Nay, while negotiating with them, as we have seen, it was still only "to win time." Before Hamilton had gone to Scotland, and while he had been there, every possible preparation had been thought of that might enable the King to break off negotiation and resort to a stronger policy. Orders had gone out respecting the mustering of the trained bands in the English counties, respecting the strengthening of the northern English towns, respecting the equipment of Admiral Pennington's fleet for service on the East Coast, and respecting the collection of ship-money. In the King's state of destitution he had even grasped at a mode of perplexing the Scots the most sly and desperate imaginable. There was then in Ireland, or going and coming between England and Ireland, a certain Randal MacDonnell, Earl of Antrim, an Irish Roman Catholic peer of broken fortunes, "notorious for nothing," according to Clarendon's character of him, "but for having married the dowager of the great Duke of Buckingham within a few years after the death of that favourite."[1] He was notorious, however, in Scotland on another account. He had a hereditary quarrel with the Campbells of Argyle, and was regarded as the chief and patron of those lawless tribes of the Clandonald, "Children of the Mist," who hovered between Ireland and the Scottish Highlands in dread of the Earl of Argyle's police and his dungeon and gibbet at Inverary. To this Irish Earl the King actually granted a secret commission to raise a force of Irishry with which to invade Argyleshire, ostensibly on his own private account, and to regain for his MacDonnells and Macdonalds the lands in those parts which they claimed as originally theirs, but with an indemnity for whatever he might do in that behalf. And yet, with all these

[1] Clar. Hist. p. 533.

preparations, no such progress had been made as that the negotiations with the Scots could be broken off. So far was there from being any concealment now of the "Scottish business" from the English Council that a Committee of the Council had been appointed expressly for Scottish affairs. It consisted of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Cottington, Sir Henry Vane, and the two Secretaries, Coke and Windebank. Hear how one member of this committee, the Earl of Northumberland, writes to his friend Wentworth at Dublin on the 23rd of July, or after Hamilton had been back from Scotland about a fortnight: "It was expected that yesterday at Theobald's [a royal country-seat in Herts, about twelve miles from London] "the King would take his resolution of peace or war with "the Scots. Of the committee for these affairs, the Marshal "[Arundel], Cottington, and Windebank are all earnest to "put the King upon a war. . . . The Comptroller [Vane] is "for peace, and Secretary Coke rather inclines that way than "the other. . . . Nothing that I have yet heard doth per-"suade *me* to be of the Marshal's opinion. In the Exchequer "(being examined upon the occasion) there is found but "£200; nor, by all the means that can yet be devised, "the Treasurer [Bishop Juxon] and Cottington, engaging "both the King's and their own credits, are able to raise but "£110,000 towards the maintaining of the war. The King's "magazines are totally unfurnished of arms and all sorts of "ammunition; and commanders we have none, either for "advice or execution. The people through all England are "generally so discontented, by reason of the multitude of "projects daily imposed upon them, as I think there is reason "to fear that a great part of them will be readier to join the "Scots than to draw their swords in the King's service. And "your Lordship knows very well how ignorant this long "peace hath made our men in the use of arms." These words of Northumberland at the moment, it will be observed, hardly accord with Clarendon's subsequent fancy picture. The iron-handed Irish Viceroy, to whom the words were addressed, had formed an opinion of his own on the subject.

That "the gallant Gospellers" of Scots ought to be chastised and subdued he had no doubt. But, as to the policy to be pursued, he would take a middle course between the war-party and the peace-party in the English committee. On the one hand, he would make no farther concessions to the Scots than in the King's recent Declaration; he would grant them no Parliament. On the other hand, he would not, with Arundel, plunge into immediate war. He would wait over winter, pressing on all kinds of preparations; and, in the spring, if the Scots had not come to their senses, he would seize Leith, and commence a series of operations which should not end, he says, till the Scots "had received our Common "Prayer Book, used in the churches of England, without "any alteration, and the Bishops settled peaceably in their "jurisdictions; nay, perchance, till I had conformed that "kingdom all in all, as well for the temporal as ecclesiastical "affairs, wholly to the government and laws of England, "and Scotland governed by the King and Council of England, "in a great part at least, as we are here" (*i.e.* in Ireland). Whatever Wentworth says or writes has the merit, at least, of being emphatic.[1]

The more peaceful counsels of Northumberland having prevailed, though with a reserve in the King's mind of plans not unlike Wentworth's, it was resolved that Hamilton should return to Scotland.[2] By a new set of instructions, dated "London July 27," he was empowered to resume his negotiations on an advance of terms. He was to yield the Scots their General Assembly, only staving it off to as late a period of the year as possible, and employing himself on what was called its "prelimitation"—that is, on such arrangements and bargainings with the Covenanters beforehand as might make the Assembly, when it did meet, as innocuous as possible.

[1] See the letters quoted in this paragraph in the *Strafford Papers*. The last letter, in reply to Northumberland, is of date July 30.

[2] Some share in disposing the King to peaceful methods has been attributed to the young Duke of Lennox, a speech of whom at the Council-Board, strongly in favour of peace, is quoted by Stevenson (214—216) and other historians. Such a speech was in circulation in London; but, as a MS. copy of it which I have seen in the State Paper Office, of date July 15, is endorsed by Windebank "D of Lenox: his supposed speeche," I infer that it was not genuine.

It was to be pre-arranged, if possible, that the Bishops should sit in it, that a Bishop should be its Moderator or President, and that the debates should not run in very deep channels. Still, even if there should be little or no success in these efforts at "prelimitation," the Assembly was to be considered as granted. There might also be promised a Parliament, to meet soon after the Assembly. In short "you are," said the instructions, "by no means to permit a present rupture to "happen, but to yield anything, though unreasonable, rather "than now break." On that point, of the surrender of the Covenant, which had been ostensibly the reason of the Marquis's return to Court, there was a special device by which, it was hoped, difficulties would be obviated.

Thus reinstructed, the Marquis was back in Edinburgh on the 10th of August. During his absence there had been much preaching and praying all over Scotland to keep men's minds up to the mark of the emergency. Advantage of the brief leisure had also been taken to look after those parts of the country where the Covenant was weakest, or where on other grounds there was danger.

During a great part of the month of July, Lorne, I find, was away on very distinct business in his Argyleshire domain. It was the season when that romantic region of Scotland, now so well known to tourists, reclothes its wintry wildness with the annual return of beauty, and the expanses of sea and promontory, of island and channel, of winding loch and heathy mountain, are as often under the sunshine and the clear blue as enwrapped in the grey mist. Argyleshire nature was the same then as now; but man how different! Not in the spirit of a modern admirer of the picturesque was the lord of that region then surveying its various scenery, traversing its mountain-passes, sailing in his galleys down Loch Fyne, or skirting the long peninsula of Cantire, whence the gaze seeks the coast of Ireland. "My dewetie "to his sacred Majestie," we find him writing to Wentworth, as Viceroy of Ireland, on the 25th of July, "tyes me to late "your lordship know that there is zitt some few resting in "thir pairtes of the rebellious race of Clandonald, who hes

"evir" &c. In short, the astute Lorne had obtained intelligence of Antrim's intended expedition; he was now taking his precautions; and one of these was the opening of a correspondence with Wentworth with a view to clearer information. The correspondence was continued through several letters till the end of the year. In Wentworth's reply to Lorne's first letter there is great evident respect; but he takes the liberty of hinting that Lorne's conduct in such a crisis was not quite what was to be expected from a person of his lordship's "blood and abilities," of whom the world had "so great an opinion." Lorne again answers with equal politeness, in more civilized spelling than in his first letter, and with an irony and at the same time a strength of reasoning which must have made even Wentworth wince.[1]

But it was not only against the wild race of Clandonald, Children of the Mist, that precautions for the Covenant had been taken within Scotland. Quite on the opposite coast, and among a race as little Celtic in their temperament or ways as it would have been possible to find in the island, there was a block of opposition. At that point of the Scottish east coast, nearer to Norway than to London, where the gloomy Don and the sprightly Dee join their differing waters in the ocean, stands the town of Aberdeen. Partly from native tendencies, partly from the influence exercised by the "Aberdeen Doctors," this town was the fastness of Prelacy in Scotland. There were Covenanters in it; but hitherto the tide of Evangelicism, as understood by the rest of the nation, had dashed vainly in the main round the city. Accordingly, while Lorne had been away looking after the children of the mist, a deputation from the Tables, including the Earl of Montrose, Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, had been commissioned to visit Aberdeen and try what could be done with its children of the granite. Never were Henderson, Dickson, and Cant more hard beset in their capacity of debaters than in this visit to Aberdeen (July 20—28). Their preachings to the students in the yard of Marischal College,

[1] The following is the series of the letters in the *Strafford Papers:* 1. Lorne to Wentworth, July 25, 1638 (as in the text); 2. Wentworth to Lorne, Aug. 28; 3. Lorne to Wentworth, Oct. 9. The letters are worth reading.

and to the townspeople elsewhere, in behalf of the Covenant, brought out the Aberdeen Doctors—Dr. John Forbes, Dr. Robert Barron, Dr. William Leslie, Dr. James Sibbald, and Dr. Alexander Ross—to the defence of their flocks and their principles. Not content with their spoken arguments, the Aberdeen Doctors had set the local press to work; and, after the Covenanting deputies had left the town, they were pursued with printed Replies and Duplies, which it tasked their subsequent industry to answer. These pamphlets in defence of Prelacy from Aberdeen found their way at once into England.[1]

Both Lorne and the Aberdeen Deputation were back in Edinburgh in time to take part in the new negotiation with Hamilton. It lasted but a fortnight, or from August 10 to August 25. We have said that, in the matter of the Covenant, Hamilton had been provided with an ingenious contrivance which, it was supposed, would answer the purpose. It was a kind of homœopathic remedy, and seems to have been suggested by Hamilton himself. If the Scots *would* have a Covenant, might they not have a Covenant somewhat like their own, but of a quieter nature, and approved by the King,—nay, signed by him along with them? Their own Covenant consisted of a revival of a document known as the "Short Confession of Faith, or First National Covenant, of 1580," with certain subsequent additions and an attached "bond" or oath adapted to the immediate exigency. But out of the old documents of the Scottish Kirk might not a Covenant be devised less fierce in expression and yet sufficiently orthodox and Knox-like, and might not a "bond" of a loyal nature be attached to this Covenant?

[1] Baillie, I. 97; and the Pamphlets themselves as follows:—1. "General Demands concerning the late Covenant, propounded by the members and Professors of Divinity in Aberdene to some Reverend Brethren who came thither to recommend the late Covenant to them; together with the Answers of these Rev. Brethren to the said Demands; As also the Replyes of the foresaid members and Professors to their Answers: Printed by His Majestie's Printer for Scotland, *anno* 1638" (pp. 37). 2. "The Answers of some Brethren of the Ministrie to the Replyes of the members and Professors of Divinitie in Aberdene concerning the late Covenant: Printed by R. Y., his maj. Printer for Scotland, 1638" (pp. 42, and signed by Henderson and Dickson). 3. "Duplies of the members and Professors of Aberdene to the second Answers of some Reverend Brethren, &c. 1638" (pp. 133). — All these pamphlets were reprinted together at Aberdeen in 1662.

It is not worth while to describe the plan more minutely, for the Marquis seems to have found it hopeless and to have quietly dropped it. He devoted all his strength to the "prelimitation" of the promised Assembly, and this more especially on two points. He was anxious, first, that the Assembly should be in the main a clerically composed body, in the election of the members of which laymen should have no voice; and, secondly, that the scope of its deliberations should be restricted beforehand. On the first of these points he seemed likely at first to have some success; for the Table of Ministers (such is clerical human nature) were rather taken with the idea of an Assembly elected solely by themselves. Even they, however, were far from being agreed on the point; and, the Tables of the Nobles, Lairds, and Burgesses being unanimous for the electoral rights of laymen, the matter was settled, and a treatise was put forth clearing up, definitively for the future, the whole question of the place and power of lay-elders in the Presbyterian system. On the other point also Hamilton found the Tables resolute. They would have no "prelimitation" of the business of the Assembly; and, if they could not have a full and free Assembly by his Majesty's authority, they would call one without that authority. To the Marquis's alarm, this matter of an Assembly by popular authority alone began to be boldly discussed both in conference and in print. There was one incident which contributed to this boldness and to the difficulties of the Marquis in dealing with the Covenanters. The Marquis of Huntley's son, Lord Gordon, had arrived from Court (August 13) with letters from the King to the Magistrates and Doctors of Aberdeen, thanking them and the town for the loyal stand they had just made against the Covenant; and it was quickly known that Hamilton had backed these letters with others from himself to the same effect, and with a remittance to Dr. Barron of £100 to keep the press going with Aberdeen pamphlets. Suspicion of the Marquis's good faith was the natural result; and when, professing that he had again reached the limit of his instructions, he proposed once more to return to Court to have them enlarged, it was rather sternly that the Covenanters consented

to the new delay. Let him go, but let it not be for more than twenty days![1]

The second return of the Marquis to Court was still only "to win time." The same reasons against a rupture with the Scots that had led to the negotiation at first, and to its renewal after the first interruption, required that it should be renewed again at any hazard. Almost punctually, therefore, within the twenty days (Sept. 15) the Marquis was back in Edinburgh, and this time, it was announced, with all the requisite power. Indeed, the news of the great concessions which he was now authorized to grant had preceded him into Scotland, greatly to the joy of the Covenanters, but so much to the chagrin of the Scottish Prelates that, considering their cause abandoned by the King, and unwilling to await the vengeance likely to be executed upon them by the forthcoming Assembly, most of them had packed up their all, and were met by the Marquis in Yorkshire on their way to exile in English towns. It was easier for the Marquis, in a country almost wholly Presbyterian again by this flight of the Bishops, to proceed according to his new instructions. They were dated "Oatlands Sept. 9," and authorized him absolutely to revoke the Service-Book, the Canons, and the High Commission, to discontinue the Articles of Perth and promise the royal assent to their total repeal by Parliament, to call a General Assembly speedily at any place except Edinburgh, and to fix a day for the meeting of a Parliament after the Assembly. These concessions were, of course, accompanied with drawbacks, but nothing so stringent as before. As regarded the "prelimitation" of the Assembly, the Marquis was to yield to the Covenanters so far as to give his Majesty's sanction to proceedings in the Assembly having for their end a reform and restriction of Episcopacy in Scotland, and also to the trial of the Bishops and others by the Assembly as ecclesiastical delinquents. He was still to try to keep the lay element as much as possible out of the Assembly, but this rather by private management and by infusing into the minds of the clergy "a jealousy of being overruled by laics."

[1] Rushworth, II. 763, 764; Spalding, I. 98—100; and Baillie, I. 100, 10

In this matter of the "prelimitation," therefore, the chief stumbling-blocks had been removed. But there was a remaining stumbling-block. Charles could not forget the existence of the "damnable Covenant;" and the Marquis, greatly against his own will this time, was instructed to mingle with all the new concessions, and all his activity in connexion with them, an experiment in a new form of that very homœopathic remedy which he had himself suggested. According to this new form of the homœopathic remedy—concocted, apparently, by Traquair, Roxburgh, and others of the Scottish Councillors—the Scots were to be offered, in lieu of their Covenant, a document actually the same to a considerable extent, and differing only in its closing portion. So far as the repetition of the "Short Confession of 1580" was concerned, the new covenant to be proposed to the Scots in the King's name was *verbatim* the same as their own; but the rest of it was to consist of a renewal of a particular Bond or Covenant against Papists which had been annexed to the Short Confession in special circumstances by King James and his Council in 1590. Let us see what were some of the items in this proposed compound document. The Short Confession of 1580 is a vow of abhorrence of "all kind of Papistry in general and particular heads;" among which heads are enumerated the following errors and usurpations of the Pope—"his canonization of men, calling upon angels or "saints departed, worshipping of imagery, relics and crosses, "dedicating of kirks, altars and days," as well as "his holy "water, baptizing of bells, conjuring of spirits, crossing, sain-"ing, anointing, hallowing of God's creatures." In the Bond of 1590, annexed to this profession in the King's Covenant, there was less of this kind of language, and one can see why the King should prefer it to the Bond in the real Covenant, which was a solemn league of mutual defence against the "innovations" that had been enforced in his own reign and by himself. But, though preferable on this account, it was strong enough in itself. It was an oath to assemble in arms, when required by the King, "against whatsoever foreign or "intestine powers, or Papists and their partakers, should arrive

"or rise within this island or any part thereof," and also, under the same authority, to put the laws in force against "all Jesuits and seminary or mass priests." To what straits must the husband of Henrietta Maria, and the ecclesiastical disciple of Laud, have been driven when he was induced to sanction such a document as this joint Confession of 1580 and Bond of 1590![1]

Great was the popular rejoicing when, on Thursday the 22d of September, the full tenor of his Majesty's concessions was made known in several definite proclamations by the royal heralds at the Cross of Edinburgh. One proclamation was of a general or declaratory nature, absolutely revoking the Service-Book, the Canons, and the High Commission, suspending the Perth Articles, and promising their repeal and a limitation of Episcopacy. Two others were special—one a summons for a General Assembly of the Kirk to be held at Glasgow (not at Aberdeen, as had been feared) on the 21st of November; and another for a Parliament to meet in Edinburgh on the ensuing 15th of May. What could heart wish for more? Alas! there was *one* vitiating accompaniment of all this joy. "Only one thing frays us," writes Baillie—"the subscription of ane other covenant."[2] Before issuing the happy proclamations, the Marquis, in accordance with his instructions, had brought the matter of the new Covenant before the Council and some of the Covenanting chiefs. To these latter it caused perplexity. To the document in itself there was no objection; it was a very excellent document, such as they would have been glad to sign then or at any time; but, considered as a document which they were to accept from the King to the cancelling and renunciation of their own Covenant so solemnly sworn to, or even as a substitute for that Covenant, it assumed a very different complexion. Even the Lords of the Council felt this peculiarity of the case; and, though all of them who were present, to the number of twenty-nine, complied with the Marquis's request

[1] Rushworth, II. 759—761 (second paging); and Stevenson, 252, 253. The whole of the Bond of 1590 may be read in Rushworth, II. 778—780, or in Stevenson's Introd. to his History, under the year 1590.

[2] Baillie, I. 104.

that they would sign the document along with him, they did so only with an important explanation, insisted on by Lorne, that the Confession of 1580, as part of the document, was to be understood in the sense in which it had been originally drawn up, and as not implying approbation of any changes in the doctrine or discipline of the Kirk that had been introduced after that date. For those who, like Lorne, had not signed the other Covenant, this might be satisfactory: they were free from any former oath, and could take the King's with pleasure. But for the Covenanters themselves the case was different. The inducements to compliance were strong and obvious. Not the least was the sense of the prejudice that would be sure to arise against their cause in indifferent or even friendly quarters if they seemed to stand stubbornly on a mere form of words, when the substance was yielded. Still, the more they thought of the matter, the less could they comply. Very soon their minds were made up. On the 24th of September, or two days after the proclamations summoning an Assembly and a Parliament, there was a further proclamation at the Cross, by the Marquis's order, of Acts of Council commanding all His Majesty's Scottish subjects of whatever degree to subscribe the King's Covenant in the sense in which it had just been subscribed by the Council, and empowering commissioners to go into all the shires and collect the subscriptions before the 13th of November. No sooner was this proclamation made than Johnstone of Warriston stood forth, in the name of the Tables, and read a Protest which had been drawn up for the purpose. It was a long document, but is, I think, both in spirit and in expression, one of the finest to be found among the uncouth Scottish records of that period. I can hardly be mistaken in attributing it to Henderson. Was the former oath of a whole nation, it asked, to go for nothing? Were men, serious men, to "multiply oaths and covenants," or to "play with oaths as children do with their toys?" In so far as the Covenant already taken exceeded that now proposed, would there not be perjury in the substitution? "What the use is of march-"stones upon borders of land," it said, "the like use have

"Confessions of Faith in the Kirk, to determine betwixt "truth and error; and the renewing and applying of Con- "fessions of Faith to the present errors and corruptions are "not unlike riding of marches; and, therefore, to content "ourselves with the general, and to return to it from the "particular, application of the Confession necessarily made "upon the invasion or creeping in of errors within the "borders of the Kirk, if it be not a removing of the march- "stone from its own place, it is at least the hiding of the "march in the ground that it be not seen."[1]

And now, over the whole country, for about two months, there was a struggle of the two Covenants. It was not the question now whether one was a Covenanter or Non-Covenanter, but whether one would remain a Covenanter proper or be a King's Covenanter. As eager as the Covenanters had been six months before for the subscription of *their* Covenant, so eager were the Marquis and his official adherents now for the subscription of the rival Covenant in all parishes and places. Every influence was used with town-councils and presbyteries. For a time there seemed a chance of success. There were groups of Covenanters here and there who could not see the harm of accepting a Covenant so like their own, if the compliance would bring peace. Gradually, however, the counter-arguments of the Tables in their paper of Protest told on these waverers. Nay, the success of the King's Covenant in one locality brought it into discredit with the rest of the nation. It was on the 4th of October that the Marquis of Huntley, accompanied by his two sons, Lords Gordon and Aboyne, and by some Aberdeenshire and Banffshire lairds, made a grand demonstration with drum and trumpet for the King's Covenant in the market-square of Aberdeen, requiring the citizens to subscribe it. The Aberdeen Doctors led the way with their signatures; but they did so with certain characteristic explanations, to the effect that, in so doing, they were not to be considered as condemning Episcopal Government, or the Articles of Perth, or as com-

[1] See the entire Protestation in Stevenson, 256--264; and a portion of it in Rushworth, II. 772—778.

mitting themselves to the immutability of the Presbyterian model as it had existed in 1580. With this interpretation of the King's Covenant, which in fact converted the signing of it into a demonstration in behalf of Prelacy, the bulk of the Aberdonians acquiesced. *Their* acquiescence was ruinous. Here was that document, which the Privy Councillors themselves had signed carefully with one interpretation, signed by the Aberdonians—and their conduct "well likit" of the King too—in a sense totally different! Even the willing were taught to beware. On the 1st of November, when the Court of Session met in Edinburgh after the vacation, the Marquis could induce only nine of the thirteen judges to sign the new Covenant; and by the 13th, which had been the day fixed for the final return of the subscriptions, it was clear that, save among the official portions of society and in the head-quarters of Scottish Prelacy, the new Covenant was a failure. What was to be done? Were the King's promises of an Assembly and a Parliament to be retracted? Balcanquhal, in a private correspondence he was carrying on with Laud, advised something of the kind. The Marquis himself wrote to the King that there ought to be a vigorous prosecution of military and naval preparations. Still, on the whole, it was thought best to let things drift on to the Assembly according to promise. Whatever the Assembly did could be disowned when convenient, and meanwhile all sorts of legal obstructions might be accumulated to impede the Assembly when it did meet, and to furnish reasons to the King for declaring its proceedings invalid. For example, an Act of the Scottish Council was to be obtained debarring the Assembly, in the King's name, from the question of the abolition of Episcopacy, and the Marquis was to refuse his warrant for any summons of the Bishops and other accused ecclesiastics before the Assembly in the character of delinquents.[1]

Aware of all these predeterminations against the Assembly, but resolved to make the best of it, the Covenanters had been

[1] Rushworth, II. 784—787; Stevenson, 265 *et seq.*; Baillie, I. 104, *et seq.*; Spalding, I. 141; Letter of Balcanquhal, in Appendix to Baillie, I. 475-7.

for weeks busy with all the items of preparation for a national convention so important and so long disused. Since the month of August letters of direction had been out from the Tables in Edinburgh to all the fifty-three Presbyteries, and even to all the Kirk-Sessions, of the land, giving minute instructions as to the proper forms of procedure in the election of representatives. The burghs had been reminded of the ancient practice in the election of the commissioners to be sent by them. Various doubtful points as to lay-elders, &c. had been cleared up for the satisfaction of the curious. Trusty members of the several Presbyteries had been communicated with more privately; and all had been advised to study as thoroughly as possible the questions that were likely to come mainly into dispute in the Assembly—*De Episcopatu, De Senioribus, De potestate magistratûs in rebus ecclesiasticis, De Liturgiâ Anglicanâ*, &c. But how to bring the Bishops and other ecclesiastical culprits before the bar of the Assembly? To this end there was prepared a general form of complaint or "libel" against the Bishops, in the names of 12 noblemen, 32 barons or lairds, 5 ministers, and 6 burgesses, acting for the whole body of the Covenanters; which "libel," with special charges of immorality, &c., against some of the Bishops, was transmitted to the Presbyteries within whose bounds lay the cathedral-seats or residences of the Bishops, in order that either these Presbyteries might judge the accused themselves or refer their trial to the Assembly. The latter course, it is needless to say, was universally adopted. In all these proceedings there was evidence not only of the zeal and courage of the Covenanters, but also of an amount of business-talent to which there was nothing comparable on the King's side.[1]

THE GLASGOW ASSEMBLY OF 1638.

On Wednesday the 21st of November 1638 the long-expected Assembly met in that High Church of Glasgow which strangers to the city still visit as one of the best remain-

[1] Stevenson, 247—252, and 267-8.

ing specimens of the old Cathedral-architecture of Scotland. It was an important day for Scotland, and not so unimportant for England as the scanty references to it now in English histories might lead one to imagine. Glasgow was not then the great city it now is, but only a thriving Scottish town of some 12,000 souls. The bustle in the place was proportionate to the occasion. All that was influential in Scotland was already gathered there. Besides the Marquis as Lord High Commissioner, all or nearly all the Privy Councillors, and the actual members of the Assembly, lay and clerical, to the number of 240, there was a great number of ministers, nobles, and lairds, from all parts of the country, some as appointed "assessors" to the members, and others attracted by curiosity. The retainers, many of them armed, whom the chief nobles had brought with them, swelled the crowd. In vain the Marquis had sought to prevent so vast and promiscuous a gathering, and to keep the city free from a larger addition to its ordinary population than might be made by those whose presence was absolutely necessary. It was with difficulty that the members could force their way through the crush to their places in the church. The magistrates had made all the arrangements. On a throne, as representing his Majesty, sat the Marquis. Immediately beneath and around him sat the Lords of the Privy Council, to the number of thirty, of whom six had been specially named by the King as "assessors" to the Commissioner. In front of the Commissioner's throne was a little table for the Moderator and the Clerk of the Assembly when they should be chosen; there was a long table in the middle, from end to end, round which sat the lay-elders who were members of the Assembly, or assessors to such; and side seats, rising in tiers, were occupied by the clerical members and their assessors. The vaults and recesses were filled with spectators of both sexes, a special place being reserved for the young nobility. Among the 144 clerical members returned by the 53 Presbyteries (three from most, but only two from some) were Henderson, Dickson, Baillie, Rutherford, Cant, and others already known to us, together with such others, then not inconsiderable, as

Adamson, Ramsay, and Rollock of Edinburgh, Bell and Zachary Boyd of Glasgow, William Guild of Aberdeen, James Bonar of Maybole, Dalgleish of Cupar, Cunningham of Cumnock, William Livingstone of Lanark, Ker of Prestonpans, Row of Carnock, and Robert Blair and John Livingstone, both recently from Ireland. The lay members were 96 in all (one from most of the Presbyteries, and one at least from each of the 48 Scottish burghs); among whom were the chief of the Scottish non-official nobility and gentry. Yes! though the Scottish aristocracy have since then, almost to a man, passed over to the English Church, there sat in that most Presbyterian of all the Assemblies of the Kirk, and most of them most intensely and patriotically Presbyterian themselves, the ancestors of most of our present well-known Scottish families! Among the Earls were Rothes, Lothian, Cassilis, Eglintoun, Montrose, Wemyss, and Home; among the Lords were Cranstoun, Yester, Johnstone, Loudoun, Sinclair, Balmerino, Lindsay, Burleigh, and Cupar; and among the lairds or lesser barons were Douglas of Cavers, Fergusson of Craigdarroch, Agnew of Lochnaw, Baillie of Lamington, Stirling of Keir, Graham of Fintray, Ramsay of Balmain, Skene of Skene, Fraser of Philorth, and Barclay of Towie. Among the ministers present, not as members, but only as spectators and assessors, were young George Gillespie of Wemyss, and old David Calderwood, the long-exiled but now rejoicing historian of the Kirk. There had been an expectation that the Aberdeen Doctors and their friends would appear and show fight; and there had been returns from some Presbyteries of men of this stamp. On the whole, however, the policy of the Anti-Covenanters had been to keep away from the Assembly, rather than figure as a small fraction in it and yet countenance it by their presence. In the main, then, the Assembly, though divisible into the more eager and the less eager in opinion, as all assemblies are, was charged with one spirit. For the difficult office of Moderator or President there was chosen, by instinctive and unanimous consent, Alexander Henderson, "incomparably the ablest man of us all," says Baillie, "for all things." As to who should sit at the same

table with the Moderator as Clerk of the Assembly there was no hesitation whatever. Johnstone of Warriston was the very man, "a nonsuch for a Clerk to us all," says Baillie. As Clerk he was not a member of Assembly, but only its officer.[1]

Obstruction of the proceedings at every possible point was the policy of the Marquis. The first seven days of the Assembly were, accordingly, one continued struggle between him and the body of the members. His method was to watch the progress of the business, and, wherever he could see a controvertible point, to challenge it and raise a debate—in the end, when the decision went against him on that point, suffering the decision to pass under protest. Thus he opposed the election of Henderson as Moderator, the election of Johnstone as Clerk; and day after day he kept on demurring, delaying, and protesting at every new stage, in a way which, while it vexed the Assembly, impressed them with a respect for his ability. "I take the man to be," says Baillie, who had been much prejudiced against him, "of a sharp, ready, solid, "clear wit, of a brave and masterlike expression, loud, distinct, "slow, full, yet concise, modest, courtly: if the King have "many such men, he is a well-served prince." It needed a Henderson for Moderator, thought Baillie, to match such a High Commissioner.

But the policy of mere obstruction was to come to an end. On the sixth and seventh days of sitting—Tuesday the 27th and Wednesday the 28th of November—there came on a discussion of certain documents striking at the powers and the very existence of the Assembly itself. There was a *Declinator* from the Bishops, *i.e.* a paper in which they jointly took exception to the Assembly, and refused to appear in it or recognize its authority;[2] and there were three allied documents, signed in all by about fifty ministers, protesting against the validity of the Assembly if laymen or commissioners from such should have votes in it. These last were speedily dis-

[1] Minute accounts of the arrangements of the Assembly are given in Baillie and Stevenson; and in Stevenson (275—277) may be seen a complete roll of the members, both lay and clerical.

[2] See the *Declinator* (a long document) in Rushworth, II. 866—872.

posed of, the slenderness of the numerical opposition which they revealed surprising the Assembly itself. But the *Declinator* of the Bishops! It was known that, in this matter, if in any, the Marquis and the Assembly would come to a rupture, and it was thought of evil omen that at this juncture of the proceedings the Bishop of Ross had arrived in Glasgow from Court. Accordingly, the debate became complicated and vehement. There were counter-protests against the *Declinator* from the nobles who had promoted the libel against the Bishops; there were speeches by Rothes and other chief leaders; there was a speech by the Moderator, expounding the rights of the Assembly by reference to the Synod of Dort as a precedent, and in the light of natural reason; and, Balcanquhal having obtained leave to comment on one portion of the Moderator's speech, there was protracted argumentation in reply. At length, the debate having wearied itself out, it was left for the Moderator to put the question to the Assembly "whether they found themselves the Bishops' judges notwithstanding their *Declinator*." At this point the Marquis rose in a warning manner. After speaking of the conflict of his own feelings in having to discharge a duty so painful, he declared that the course of the Assembly's proceedings was now inconsistent with his Majesty's instructions to him; and, delivering a paper containing these instructions to the Clerk, he desired that it should be read. The paper, among other things, required the Assembly to accept, sign, and register the King's Covenant. When, it had been read, the Moderator, after a grave and loyal reply, insisted that he must proceed to his duty and put the question of the *Declinator*. Again the Marquis interfered, intimating that, if the question were put, he must leave the Assembly. Very anxious to prevent such a catastrophe, Rothes addressed his Grace, and there followed a kind of informal dialogue, in which all the objections to the proceedings of the Covenanters were again urged by his Grace, and redargued by Rothes, Loudoun, and others. While speaking, the Marquis was seen to shed tears, and his distress, communicating itself to the Assembly, "drew water," says Baillie, "from many eyes; well I wot,

much from mine." He summed up with these words, "I "stand to the King's prerogative as supreme judge over all "causes, civil and ecclesiastic; to him the Lords of the Clergy "have appealed, and therefore I will not suffer their cause to "be farther reasoned here." He would have had the Assembly then to break up; but, as they would not, he protested, in the King's name and in his own, against whatever they might do, and left the church with his retinue of Privy Councillors. One Privy Councillor, indeed, remained behind. This was Lorne—now no longer called by that name, however; for, by his father's death in London, he had just become Earl of Argyle. He had taken the opportunity, during the last conversation, to explain, in the Marquis's presence, his past conduct, to call attention to the fact that he had signed the King's Covenant in a sense contrary to the Prelatic interpretation that had been given to it, and to signify his intention thenceforth to adhere to the Assembly as a lawful convocation of his countrymen. Hurrah for Argyle at last! From this time forward he is openly a Covenanter.[1]

Next day, as was expected, there was a proclamation by the Marquis, dissolving the Assembly on pain of treason, and commanding all persons not resident in Glasgow to leave the city within twenty-four hours. The Assembly, of course, had their protest ready, and did not move. Only three or four of them, so far as is known, left their places. Deliberately through nineteen other sittings they proceeded with their business, the last or twenty-sixth sitting being on Thursday the 20th of December. An index of their principal Acts may be read in Rushworth, and their proceedings may be studied more at large in the published records of the Kirk of Scotland. Suffice it here to say that they swept Episcopacy, root and branch, out of the land, and re-established the Kirk on the Presbyterian model. There was an Act annulling the six immediately preceding Assemblies, from that of Perth in 1618 back

[1] Baillie, I. 123—144; Stevenson, 273—308; Rushworth, II. 841—854. The exact date of the old Earl of Argyle's death is not to be found in the Peerage-books; but it must have happened between the 9th of October, when Lorne still signs himself "Lorne," and the 5th of November, when the King, in a letter to Wentworth, refers to him as "Argyle" (*Strafford Letters*).

to that of Linlithgow in 1606, by which Prelacy had been introduced or accepted. There were Acts condemning the Service-Book, the Canons, the High Commission, and the Articles of Perth. There was an Act deposing and excommunicating "the sometime pretended bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Ross, Galloway, Brechin, Edinburgh, Dunblane and Aberdeen," and an Act deposing, but not excommunicating, the less unpopular bishops of Moray, the Isles, Argyle, Orkney, Caithness, and Dunkeld. There were Acts ratifying the National Covenant and disowning the King's Covenant. There were Acts "restoring Presbyteries and Provincial and General Assemblies" on their former basis, and redistributing the fifty-three Presbyteries into convenient provinces for Synods. There were minor acts about all matters and sundry —concerning schools and colleges, against delinquents inferior to the bishops, against Popery, concerning Sabbath-observance, against Deans and Chapters, and (alas for toleration in those days even among the foes of Laud!) against "the printing anything anent the Assembly, or any treatise concerning the Kirk," without warrant in writing from the Assembly's Clerk. Finally, the next meeting of the Assembly was appointed to be held in Edinburgh, in July 1639. In these Acts the Assembly was singularly unanimous. Argyle, though not as a member, took part in the deliberations, and remained with the Assembly till it broke up. Two days before it broke up it was again denounced and annulled by a royal Proclamation. This Proclamation, direct from the King, and dated "Whitehall, Dec. 8," had been read at the Cross of Edinburgh, and met there, as usual, by a detailed protest. The Glasgow Assembly of 1638 was to remain a solid and accomplished fact in the history of Scotland. It re-established the Church of the nation on its Presbyterian basis; and its Moderator, Alexander Henderson, is remembered to this day as the great successor of John Knox.[1]

[1] Rushworth, II. 872—875; Acts and Proceedings of the Assembly of 1638 (reprinted at Edinburgh in 1838); Baillie, I. 144—176; Stevenson, 308—352.

THE FIRST "BISHOPS' WAR" WITH THE SCOTS.

England had been roused, from end to end, by the events in Scotland. Till some eighteen months before, English ideas of Scotland had been very vague. In the descriptions of English satirists it was a land of beggary and oatmeal, from which, since the union of the Crowns, there had been a constant influx of lank and greedy immigrants.

> Had Cain been Scotch, God would have changed his doom;
> Not made him wander, but compelled him home.

These lines had yet to be written by the satirist Cleveland; but the jest which they express had long been popular in England. "The truth is," says Clarendon, "there was so "little curiosity, either in the court or the country, to know "anything of Scotland, or what was done there, that, when "the whole nation was solicitous to know what passed weekly "in Germany and Poland, and all other parts of Europe, no "man ever inquired what was doing in Scotland, nor had that "kingdom a place or mention in one page of any gazette." Jenny Geddes's arm had changed all that. Since the proclamation of the Covenant there had been an intense interest throughout England in the progress of "the Scottish business." The illustrations of this that might be gathered from the English Home-office documents of the time are innumerable. One reads there how information was sent from Northumberland to Secretary Windebank that John Alured, dwelling near the border, and worth 400*l.* or 500*l.* a year, had been heard to say that "the Scots were brave boys," and "would reform this land by a Parliament as they had done theirs already." One reads of a nest of sympathisers with the Scots in Newcastle, and how from that town a merchant named Fenwicke, a tanner named Bittlestone, and others, had paid a visit of sympathy to Edinburgh, had lodged there in a poor widow's house in the High Street, had heard Mr. Roque (Rollock) preach on Psalm cxxii. 6, 7, and had been so greatly impressed that they had either signed the Covenant themselves or wished to do so. Nor

was it only in the north of England that such instances of sympathy with the Scots were breaking out, in a manner to attract the attention of the local authorities and of the Home Office. In London, now and for weeks and months to come, Mr. Secretary Windebank, and his private secretary and son-in-law, Mr. Robert Reade, were busy to weariness with informations that had reached them of cases of the Scottish distemper, and with inquiries and arrests arising out of these informations. Some of these cases are comical enough. Lists were made out of Scottish tailors and other Scottish tradesmen in the city, and of the cheap eating-houses and the like to which Scotchmen did most resort; and one reads, *inter alia*, how a certain Mrs. Cromwell, living near Shere Lane, and not only she, but her neighbour Mrs. Grace Southcott, and the Rev. Mr. Swadling, Vicar of Aldgate's, and Dr. May, a physician—all of whom chanced to be in Mrs. Cromwell's house at the time — were alarmed by the wild talk of a certain Captain Napier, a Scotchman, who had dropt in with apologies from his sick wife for not having been able to call on Mrs. Cromwell. The news from Scotland having been mentioned, Captain Napier had told them that there was more in that matter than people generally knew. "There were many good heads writing and busy about these things," and he himself was not in London for nothing. He has the honour of seeing the imprisoned Bishop of Lincoln almost every day in the Tower; "that Bishop hath more in him "than all the rest of the Bishops of England, and, if he had "been made Archbishop of Canterbury, none of all these "things had fallen out." What was brewing time alone could tell. Only this he would hint, that "all the apostles of Christ had not 100*l.* a year amongst them," and that, if the Bishops of England were brought back to something like that state of things, it might be better for all parties! All this and much more did Captain Napier say openly in Mrs. Cromwell's house, till the hair of his hearers stood on end; and no sooner was he gone than, Mr. Swadling and Dr. May having agreed that "many a man hath been laid upon a hurdle for less matters than this and for concealment," an

account of what had passed was drawn up, read to the women, and sent to Secretary Windebank. The result was that Captain Napier soon found himself under lock and key. If the accounts are correct, we need not pity *him* much; he was but a Scottish Bobadil, who had probably a bee in his bonnet.—But what shall we say of the daily intercepting of letters addressed to respectable London citizens, and of police-visits to their houses to search for papers on suspicion of their complicity with the Scots? Among the persons so suspected, and examined under warrant from Windebank, was a "Samuel Hartlib, merchant," of whom we shall hear more in this History. And the feeling regarding the existence of which the Government was thus on the alert, did, doubtless, exist throughout the entire body of the English Puritans. Above all, for the Hampdens, the Cromwells, and the Pyms, walking about this time, as we can fancy them, in the fields or along quiet pathways in their several parts of England, and wondering how long the reign of "Thorough" was to last, and when, if ever, they were to be called upon again to act for their countrymen, the news from Scotland must have had a strangely agitating interest.[1]

[1] The little odds and ends of fact mentioned in this paragraph are from notes of my readings in the MSS. in the State-Paper Office. The date of the Alured case is July 4—9; that of the Napier case, August 8; the date of the inquiry about the Newcastle sympathisers is January 1638-9. Thence, on for some months, Windebank and Reade are busy with London cases. The warrant for examining Hartlib and searching his house is of date May 1, 1639. It is to Reade, who had just written on the previous day (April 30), "I am in such continual employment in examining these Puritan rogues, &c., that I am weary of my life."—I have seen a letter of Pym's in the State-Paper Office, dated "London, July 20, 1638," and addressed to his "very worthy and much esteemed friend, John Wandesforde, Esq. His Maj. agent and counsel for the English at Aleppo in Syria." In this letter (doubtless intercepted and brought to Windebank) Pym says, "Being again to go into the country, where I have been for the most part of these two years past, and it being a time which threatens great change and trouble, I have thought good now to salute," &c.—I may here mention that to the fears of complicity with the Scots, entertained by the Government about this time, we owe some curious statistics as to the number of *foreigners* then resident in London. From a return of names made to Windebank, in pursuance of a Privy Council order (S. P. O. MS. of date March 15, 1638-9), I find that there were then 838 "strangers" in Westminster—viz. 641 French, 176 Dutch, 15 Italians, and 6 Spaniards—a large proportion of whom are described as "painters," "picture-drawers," or "lymners," while others are engravers, musicians, silver-workers, &c. Westminster would naturally be the head-quarters of foreigners who were artists. In the city of London there were at the same time (MS. of date March 19, giving, however, only numbers, and not a list of names) 830 "strangers," classified thus — French, 228; Dutch, 221; Walloons, 330; Ger-

The nature of this interest of the English Puritans in the Scottish struggle may be easily conceived. From the time of Elizabeth, it is true, a large proportion of those who were called Puritans in England had desired nothing more in the shape of ecclesiastical change than a modification of the Episcopal power, an abatement of ceremonies and the like; but, in so far as any other model of a Church than the Episcopal *had* been contemplated by those English Puritans who stopped short of Independency and Separatism, it had, of course, been the Genevan or Presbyterian. Most probably the tightening and heightening of English Episcopacy by Laud had of late driven the thoughts of the Puritans more and more to this notion of a Church without bishops as promising the only effective deliverance. Such a notion, however, can have existed but vaguely while it was only by looking across the seas to Holland and Switzerland that actual specimens of non-episcopal Church-government could be found. But, now that one portion of the British Island itself had actually swept away its bishops and reverted to the Presbyterian system, it was not wonderful that Presbyterianism should seem to the English Puritans a nearer possibility than it had been. All of them indeed did not as yet go the length of desiring the Presbyterian system for England. But all of them were satisfied that, if the Scots chose to have that system in Scotland, they ought not to be prevented by any interference from without; and they were shocked at the idea of a war between the two nations for the sake of the Scottish bishops.

Nevertheless, war there was now to be. On this the King, Laud, Wentworth, Arundel, Cottington and others were resolved. Nor could any of the Councillors see how it could be longer avoided. The Marquis of Hamilton, who had been detained by illness and disappointment in Scotland till the month of January, could give no other advice. Accordingly, as preparations had been going on more or less secretly for

mans, 24; Italians, 11; Polanders, 2; Bohemians, 1; Norwegians, 1; Savoyards, 1; Normans, 1; Florentines, 1; Palatinate-men, 1; Venetians, 6; Hamburghers, 1. As regards professions, 202 of the total 830 are described as "weavers," and the rest of other professions.

months, with a view to a war in the spring at any rate, so during the months of January and February 1638-9 these preparations were pressed forward with all the urgency of immediate haste. The details of these preparations the reader may easily conceive for himself. We will but glance at one or two of the special methods for raising money to which the King had recourse.

The Nobles were called upon to subscribe. By a circular letter in the King's name to all the English nobility, dated "Westminster, January 26, 1638-9," they were individually informed that the King was to lead in person an expedition against the Scots, and that the rendezvous was to be at York on the 1st of April; and they were required to intimate within fifteen days to one of the Secretaries of State the nature and the extent of the assistance which his Majesty might expect from them on that occasion. A good many replies to this letter, some of which are curious specimens of aristocratic penmanship and orthography, are still to be seen in the State-Paper Office; where also there is an abstract, in the handwriting of Mr. Nicholas, Clerk to the Council, of *all* the replies sent in, to the number of seventy-seven. The gradations of wealth among the English nobles, in combination with their zeal and loyalty in general, or with their appetite for the Scottish war in particular, are easily to be seen in this document. None of the seventy-seven nobles included in it comes up to Wentworth. His name is not included in it, apparently because it was necessary that he should remain in Ireland; but, hearing that such a summons had gone forth, he had written over to the King, subscribing 2,000*l.*, and asking his Majesty to command all he had beyond that, "to the uttermost farthing." Perhaps next in zeal to Wentworth is the Earl of Worcester. He promises 1,000*l.*, and will send his son and heir (Lord Herbert, afterwards Earl of Glamorgan) to the rendezvous with 20 horse. A few nobles—as Lord Goring, Lord Cottington, the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Newcastle, and the Earl of St. Alban's and Clanricarde—promise 20 horse, and attendance in person or by substitute; while others—as the Earls of Thanet, Kingston, and Rivers—offer

1000*l.*, in lieu of horse, or of both horse and attendance. The Earl of Bridgewater, Milton's "Earl" in *Comus*, will furnish 12 foot for six months, or pay 1000*l.*, whichever is most acceptable to the King; and the *money* is most acceptable. Lord Falconbridge will attend with 10 horse and 20 foot "at the least." There are smaller offerings from many, of 500*l.* or 600*l.*, or of 4 horse, 6 horse, 10 horse, with or without personal attendance; and a very considerable number—among whom are the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Dover, Danby, Northampton, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Hertford, Denbigh, Berkshire, Bolingbroke, and Clare—do not commit themselves to any exact contribution, but promise to attend "with as good equipage as their fortunes and the shortness of the time will permit." Not a few beg to be excused altogether—from attendance, on the grounds of ill-health, old age, or important engagements; and from contribution, on account of poverty or the suddenness of the demand. Among these are the Earls of Lincoln, Sussex, and Nottingham. Some of the replies in this category are peculiar. Lord Charles Stanhope, for example, "is not able to subsist since he lost his place but by his Majesty's help;" but, if he were paid his arrears of 1400*l.* or 1500*l.*, he might be able to do something. Similarly, the philosophical Lord Herbert of Cherbury reminds Windebank that since 1624 he has been waiting in vain for repayment of 5,500*l.* disbursed by him while he was ambassador in France, and that moreover he has been more in the cold shade of late than a person of his merits, both literary and diplomatic, might have expected. The Earl of Bristol, who had greater cause of complaint against Charles, sends no distinct reply, but hopes to come to London soon with "such an answer as may be expected." Lord Mandeville, son of the Earl of Manchester, "hopes his father will furnish him" with the means to serve. The Earl of Warwick, "being to go to the West Indies, desires to be excused from his personal attendance," but will send his son. The Earl of Bedford first offers 500*l.*, and then, seemingly with reluctance, raises the sum to 1000*l.*, with a promise of personal attendance. In his case, as in some of the preceding,

the struggle between loyalty and Puritan sympathies is apparent; but there are only two cases in which the reluctance which so many must have felt is openly avowed and assistance refused on principle. The noblemen thus courageously conspicuous are the two future Puritan leaders, Lord Saye and Sele and Lord Brooke. In their first letters both "apprehend that the subject is not obliged to any aid of that nature but by Parliament;" and, when they are asked to reconsider that answer, all they concede is that they will be ready "to attend his Majesty when any part of the kingdom of England shall be invaded." They will do what the law requires them to do, and only that![1]

From no class of the community was there a larger proportionate contribution than from the Clergy. It was natural that among many of them ecclesiastical enthusiasm should prompt to a pecuniary demonstration against Jack Presbyter; and those of them who owned no such feeling were under a very strong whip. Laud had taken the matter in hand. A circular letter, dated "Lambeth, Feb. 11," had been sent to all the clergy of his Province, requiring them to meet and contribute, instructing them that his Majesty looked for "a greater sum than in the ordinary way," and intimating moreover that every clergyman's subscription would be registered, and defaulters noted. Archbishop Neile extended the letter to his Province of York. The result was a most respectable contribution, satisfactory even to Laud.[2] That prelate was, indeed, now overburdened with the anxiety of an ecclesiastical revolution roused by himself and for which he knew that he was held responsible. As usual, his waking thoughts passed into his dreams. "Tuesday Night, Feb. 12, 1639," he writes in his Diary, "I dreamed that K. C. (King Charles) was to be "married to a minister's widow, and that I was called upon "to do it: no Service-Book was to be found; and in my own

1 The King's circular letter in Rushworth, II. 791-2; "A List of the Lords Answerers to the King's Letter" in S. P. O., of date Feb. 28, 1638-9; a good many of the answers themselves in the S. P. O. — Lord Herbert of Cherbury's, which is in a neat and elegant hand, being dated "From my house at Haquenay, 9 Feb. 1638;" also Wentworth's Letter to the King in *Strafford Letters*, date Feb. 10, 1638-9.

2 Rushworth, II. 819.

" book, which I had, I could not find the place for marriage." This was ominous.

From the laity generally, and from the commercial class in particular, far less was to be obtained than from the nobles and the clergy. All that the City of London offered was a paltry sum of 5,200*l.*, which his Majesty refused with scorn.[1] Hence an application to the English Roman Catholics. The Queen herself appealed by letter to her fellow-religionists; a central committee of influential Romanists, including Sir Kenelm Digby and Walter Montague, was formed in London; and in all the shires Roman Catholic collectors were set to work. The sum raised was considerable, and would have been greater had not hints come from Rome, through George Con and other Papal agents, not to be too forward in the affair. It was not so clear at the Vatican that the interests of the true Church would be promoted by helping the King of the Protestant Island to put down a portion of his subjects a little more absurdly Protestant than himself; and the English Catholics were warned to "desist from that foolish, nay rather illiterate and childish custom" of distinguishing between Anglicanism and Puritanism, as if the one were a whit nearer the eternal Italian truth than the other.[2]

The total levies ordered from all England and Wales were 43,153 foot and 3,599 horse. Of this force a part was to remain in reserve within England, while the rest was to form the army destined for the Scottish border. To the chief command of this army the King had appointed the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, then in his forty-eighth year. He was chosen for his high rank and general stateliness, and also perhaps because his ancestor had commanded the English at Flodden. As Lieutenant-General under Arundel, there had been appointed Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, of about the same age as Arundel, but of military experience, and, according to Clarendon, "the most popular man in the kingdom," and the likeliest to be of use to Charles, if Charles

[1] Letter of Garrard of the Charterhouse, of date March 28, 1639, to Viscount Conway, among the Conway Papers in the State Paper Office.

[2] Rushworth, II. 820—826.

had had the due discernment. Essex would have preferred being Master of the Horse; but, by the Queen's influence, that post was given to the Earl of Holland. To assist the land-operations of the army, a fleet of sixteen vessels, under the command of the Marquis of Hamilton, with Admiral Sir John Pennington as his second, was to sail from the Thames for the Firth of Forth. The scheme of a descent by the Earl of Antrim and his Irish followers on the west or Argyleshire coast was revived, and it was hoped that Wentworth might aid or follow up that expedition. Finally, to turn to account the anti-covenanting elements in Scotland, a commission was sent to the Marquis of Huntley, appointing him lieutenant for the King at Aberdeen and in all the northern parts of Scotland.[1]

It was not till the King's preparations were in a sufficient state of forwardness that he openly announced to his English subjects the intention which they had gathered from his acts. This was done in a long proclamation, of date February 27, ordered to be read in all the parish churches of England and Wales after Divine service. Here his Majesty gave such a summary account of the proceedings of the Scots as would, he said, make evident, in the meantime, the justice of his intended war, but referred those who might desire to study the question more at leisure to an elaborate documentary history which Dr. Balcanquhal was preparing for the press under the title of "The Large Declaration." In the proclamation very strong statements were made. The Covenanters were accused of being enemies to monarchy, and of a design to invade England.[2] As the Scots had circulated abundantly in England papers giving a very different version of their acts and their principles, the proclamation of Charles had little effect; and the popular English feeling against the war broke out in all sorts of forms. Squibs, and drafts of petitions against the war, were flung at night over the walls of Whitehall or Lambeth, or dropped within the pre-

[1] Rushworth, II. 826—828; Clarendon, p. 46; Letter of Northumberland to Wentworth, Jan. 29, in *Strafford Letters;* Baillie, I. 188; Spalding, I. 145.

[2] See the Proclamation in Rushworth, II. 830—833.

cincts of the Court. Take as a specimen one rude and very plebeian document, now in the State Paper Office, written in a coarse cramped hand, and endorsed by Windebank "Libel from Ware." Ware is a village in Herts, and some rustic Puritan there had penned the document. "If you "tender God's glory," he says to the King, "your Highness' "and posterity's good and your loving subjects' love, con- "sider what you do before you begin to shed innocent blood. "King Ahab brought a curse on all his posterity by," &c. Again, "We, your poor, yet true subjects have many griev- "ances which lieth heavy on our bodies and our states, which "we cannot well bear; yet our greatest cause of grief is "that God's ordinances are taken away, and our ministers "are taken away or their mouths stopped, and our souls are "like to be starved; and we have as much need to stand as "the Scots have in this behalf." After more of the same sort, the petition winds up with this bit of doggrel—

"Desirin' your Hines to pardon my pen,
Cary Laud to the Scots, and hang up 'Ren." [1]

While the King was making his preparations, the Scots had not been idle. Foreseeing war, they had, even before the holding of their Assembly, taken care to provide what was mainly needful — a fit commander-in-chief. The "Thirty Years' War," then two-thirds over, had been a grand military school, not only for Germans, Swedes, Frenchmen, and other continentals, but also for many a volunteer or soldier-adventurer from the British islands. In especial, scores of cadets of Lowland Scottish families had gone abroad since 1618 in the Protestant service, and had become officers in the armies of the Elector-Palatine, the Danish King, and Gustavus Adolphus. Among the most conspicuous of these was one Alexander Leslie, the natural son of George Leslie, of Balgonie in Fifeshire, one of that wide-spread Scottish family of Leslies of which the Earl of Rothes was now the

[1] From copy in my notes from Papers in the S. P. O. This paper is addressed on the back "To the Hie and Mighty King Charles deliver this carefully." The "'Ren" whose hanging-up is desired is Bishop Wren of Norwich, specially unpopular for his severity against the Puritans.

chief. He had served as an officer in Sir Horatio Vere's regiment of British auxiliaries sent in 1621 to assist the Dutch against Spinola, and had passed thence into the service of Gustavus. Among his military exploits, when he was one of Gustavus's Scottish officers, had been the defence of Stralsund, in 1628, against the Imperialists under Wallenstein. The success of this defence, in spite of Wallenstein's boast that he would take Stralsund "though it were chained to heaven by adamant," had been accounted a splendid incident of the general war. Thenceforward, as Sir Alexander Leslie, Governor of Stralsund, Field-marshal, &c., he had been one of the Swedish hero's most trusted subordinates; and, after the death of Gustavus, he had remained in the Swedish service—now in Saxony or other parts of Germany, and now in Sweden itself. Early in 1638 he seems to have had thoughts of returning to Scotland, where since 1635 he had been the holder of property in his native Fifeshire. Whatever intention of this kind he may have had was confirmed by the intelligence he received abroad of the events of that year in Scotland. His sympathies being with the Covenanters, he had even busied himself with procuring signatures to the Covenant among the Scottish officers and soldiers in Sweden and Germany. To him, at all events, the thoughts of the Covenanting leaders at home had turned. Rothes had entered into communication with him; and, coming over in a small bark, he had arrived in Scotland in the autumn of 1638. Without any post as yet, and indeed keeping as much as possible in the background, he was yet to be seen occasionally in the Canongate or the High Street of Edinburgh, when the Covenanting chiefs were in consultation. He was a little, crooked, and rather battered military veteran, at whom people pointed as he passed, telling each other that that was General Leslie.[1]

There was little necessity now for Leslie's keeping in the

1 Historical Records of the Family of Leslie, by Colonel Leslie of Balquhain (1869), III. 355, 356; Chambers's Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, Article "Leslie (Alex.);" Baillie, I. 111 and 213, and note by Mr. David Laing to his memoir of Baillie, p. xxxix.; Spalding, I. 130; Harte's Gustavus Adolphus (edit. 1807), I. 163, and elsewhere.

background. The Scots, indeed, did, after their Assembly endeavour to avert war by further messages and "supplications;" and, when these had been of no avail, they had been further troubled by the inopportune appearance here and there among themselves of doctrinaire hesitations as to the legality of war by subjects against their sovereign. But common sense and the powerful pen of Henderson had quashed these hesitations, and even before the King's proclamation to the English of his intended expedition Scotland was alive to meet it. Thus, as early as January 12, Wentworth, writing to Laud from Dublin, and sending him certain informations which he had just received from an Ensign Willoughby, who had been several months in Scotland, nominally on a visit to relatives, but really as a spy, says: "He tells me that a few days before "his coming thence there was brought to Leith forth of Sweden, "in two ships, culvering and demiculvering 6, drakes taper-"bore 9 (all of brass and upon their carriages ready to march), "of corslets 4,000, and of muskets 1,800, as good as ever he "looked on. He tells me he never saw a country so stored "with arms in all his life, howbeit very much of them refuse "stuff and unserviceable. They have drill-masters, as they "term them, which go up and down the country, exercising "their men." This was but the beginning; and we hear from other quarters of committees in every shire, of voluntary subscriptions, of money borrowed from Mr. William Dick of Edinburgh on the joint-bond of the nobles, of the importation of iron and the manufacture of arms, and of the arrangement of a system of beacon-fires along the coasts. Every fourth grown man in every parish, if necessary, was to take the field. All this, so far as not done by spontaneous zeal in the different districts, was done under the authority of a kind of Central Council which had established itself in Edinburgh, as a new edition of the Tables adapted to the warlike emergency by the omission of the clerical element. This Council, or temporary Government of Scotland, consisted, till the 7th of March, of a large assembly of deputies from all parts of the country; but, after that date, of a select committee of twenty-six nobles, lairds and burgesses, of whom thirteen were to be

a quorum. It must be understood also that, influenced by the example of Argyle, or by a patriotic rousing of spirit against a threatened invasion, some of those who, as Privy Councillors of the King, had hitherto stood aloof, now joined the Covenant. Among these were the Earls of Marischal, Mar, and Kinghorn, and Viscount Almont. Some of the younger nobility, also, whose fathers held by the King, were eager now on the other side. Above all, the little crooked Field-marshal Leslie was now in request. Wentworth, who had heard of Leslie and his activity, writes about him in a way which at least shows how much he thought would depend on the kind of commander the Scots had got. The English, he said, were certainly ill provided with military men; but, as far as he could hear, this Leslie was "no such great kill-cow as they would have him." He could "neither write nor read," and moreover, though certainly a captain, he had never really been a general to the King of the Swedes, but only to a Hanse town, or something of that sort! All this, or most of it, was but current English scandal. Having seen the signature "A. Leslie" in contemporary documents, I can certify that the veteran not only could write, but wrote a neat and picturesque hand. In other respects he well suited his countrymen; and, while Wentworth was writing, he was doing what he could to impart to the levies he was to command some elements of Swedish discipline. He had his competent assistants in other Gustavus-Adolphus Scots whom he had taken care to bring over. "Crowner" (*i. e.* Colonel) William Baillie was to be his Lieutenant-general; Crowner Monro was drilling the Lothians; and Crowner Alexander Hamilton had set up a foundry of cannon in the Potter-row.[1]

[1] Baillie, I. 189—194; Stevenson, 360—363; *Strafford Letters*, under date cited; MSS. in S. P. O. One particular MS. I have in view in my statement about Leslie's signature is a letter, of date Sept. 8, 1640, addressed by Leslie, Rothes, Montrose, and five other Covenanting chiefs, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. I ought to mention, however, that the tradition as to Leslie's defective education has come down elsewhere than in the *Strafford Letters*. It figures even in Colonel Leslie of Balquhain's *Historical Records of the Family of Leslie*, where (III. 357) there is a quotation from Lord Hailes, commenting on Leslie's signature to a famous public letter of the year 1639 in these terms, "The subscription of General Leslie is so awkward and mis-

When the Scots should march to meet the King, there must be no impediments left in their rear. Hence, towards the end of March, the simultaneous seizing or securing by stratagem, or an easy show of force without bloodshed, of such castles as were or might be held for the King—Edinburgh Castle, Dalkeith Palace, Stirling Castle, Dunbarton Castle, and all the border strongholds except Caerlaverock. Argyle himself, going to the Isle of Arran, took the Marquis of Hamilton's castle of Brodick, and otherwise settled that western region against the dreaded invasion of Antrim's Irish. There was harder work in Aberdeenshire, where the Marquis of Huntley was doing his best for the King. But, a force of 9,000 Covenanters having marched from the more southern shires, under the Earls of Montrose, Marischal and Kinghorn, and Leslie following with a siege-train, and some 2,000 Covenanting Forbeses, Frasers, &c., having at the same time risen in Aberdeenshire itself, Huntley was obliged to flee from Aberdeen to his own estates in Strathbogie (March 25), leaving the city to the mercy of the foe. Then was a sore sight in the town. "Some," says the local historian Spalding, "fled with their wives and bairns; among others, there "fled to sea about sixty of our bravest men and youths of "Aberdeen, well armed with sword, musket and bandelier, "as excellent cavaliers. They took one of the town's colours "and John Park, their drummer, with them, and resolved to "go to the King." In the same ship went most of the Aberdeen Doctors, and the Lairds of Drum and Pitfoddels. They had hardly departed when the invading force of 11,000 Covenanters, all wearing the blue ribbon of the Covenant in opposition to the red ribbon of Huntley's adherents, entered and surrounded the town, to take vengeance upon its remaining citizens by fines, a stringent imposition of the

shapen that it confirms the tradition of his being absolutely illiterate." I cannot account for this discrepancy, and Lord Hailes is an unusually strict authority; but I rather fancy I am right. I took particular note of Leslie's signature, precisely because it contradicted the tradition; and I have a kind of copy of it. On referring to that copy I see that the letters *are* peculiarly shaped; but the peculiarity is certainly not that of defective education. It is as if Leslie had practised a square distinct hand while abroad. I adhere to the words "neat and picturesque."

Covenant, and various other harsh measures. The Marquis of Huntley himself, pursued into Strathbogie, and obliged to surrender, was sent to Edinburgh, with his eldest son, Lord Gordon, where they were imprisoned in the castle. Viscount Aboyne, the Marquis's second son, and some others of the family, contrived, however, to remain at large in Aberdeenshire; so that, after the Covenanting force had withdrawn, leaving only a garrison in Aberdeen, that region continued to be disturbed. It was in that far-off region, indeed, that there was the first actual bloodshed in the long Civil War of Great Britain which was now beginning. As far as can be ascertained, the first person actually slain in the war was a poor fellow named David Pratt, a farm-servant of the Aberdeenshire family of the Gordons of Gicht, the maternal ancestors of Lord Byron. They were Anti-Covenanters, and he was shot dead in a chance skirmish with some of the other side at a place called Towie, some eight-and-twenty miles from Aberdeen. Skirmishes in those unpoliced parts, now that there was so good a pretext for them, were the easiest things in nature, and added to the rough fun of existence. One such skirmish, a day or two after David Pratt fell, was on a considerable scale and attained to the dignity of a name. A number of the known Covenanting lairds of the district, with Lord Fraser and the Master of Forbes at their head, having announced that they would hold a demonstration for the Covenant at Turriff, a small town on the steep bank of the river Deveron, where it divides Aberdeenshire from Banffshire, and having assembled with their retainers to the number of 1200 men, were attacked there by an equal force of the opposite party, who had brought field-pieces for the purpose. After some resistance, the Covenanters fled, the alacrity of their retreating movements being assisted both by the steepness of the braes and by the shots from the field-pieces. This "Trot of Turriff," as it came to be called (May 14, 1639), though a laughable affair in itself, is rather memorable as the first field-action of the Civil War. In the present, or first Scottish, stage of that war, at all events, neither Arundel's army

nor Hamilton's fleet was to do anything for the King half so good.[1]

Both army and fleet were by this time ready, and almost in station, for service. Through the months of March and April the levies from all parts of England and Wales had been on the march along the roads, drawing to their rendezvous in the north. But never had an English army been on march on a business for which it had less heart, and never along the roads and through the villages of England had an army been seen marching with less pleasure by the people from which it had been drawn. It had been ordered that there should be prayers in all the English churches for the King's success, but the responses can have been but faint. In the ranks of the army the signs of reluctance were manifest. "I found some of these trained soldiers," writes the Earl of Lindsey, who had a command in it, to Secretary Windebank, April 9, "very unwilling to go along, so as at "Boston a woman presented me with the great toe of her "husband in a handkerchief, which he had cut off that he "might not be able to march."[2] March, however, they must. The King was already before them. Leaving London on the 27th of March, he had reached York on the 30th. Here he remained a full month, holding Court, receiving local deputations and the Lords and courtiers whom he had summoned to meet him there, and administering to them the military oath. Lords Saye and Sele and Brooke, who had attended the summons, but who had refused the oath, were committed to custody. Proclamations also were sent into Scotland, with offers of pardon to those who should submit. After these preliminaries at York, the King moved on (April 29) to Durham, and thence to Newcastle. It was the plan that he should remain at Newcastle till Hamilton's fleet from the Thames had passed the coast of Berwickshire, and begun operations. When these operations had had some success, the army was to advance to the border, and either invade Scotland, or give battle to any Scottish army that might bar

[1] Baillie, I. 195 *et seq.*; Rushworth, III. 906—908; Spalding, I. 149 *et seq.*; Chambers's Domestic Annals of Scotland, II. 123-4. [2] MS. letter in S. P. O.

the way. Hamilton's fleet passed the Berwickshire coast on the 2nd of May, and the King at Newcastle awaited the result with some anxiety.[1]

The result was next to nothing. Had Hamilton's fleet sailed from the Thames a month or six weeks earlier, so as to have gone to Aberdeen while yet the Marquis of Huntley held that town and its neighbourhood for the King, something might have been done. But, the Covenanters having secured Aberdeen and taken Huntley prisoner, this plan had necessarily been abandoned; and the fleet had to confine itself to demonstrations in the Firth of Forth. They were only demonstrations. To the messages sent ashore to the magistrates of Leith, and to the Council of Covenanting chiefs at Edinburgh, requiring them to receive the Marquis as King's Commissioner and submit to him, the answer was very respectfully in the negative. They let him cruise about, and they even refrained from trying Colonel Hamilton's "fireworks" upon his ships; but they were resolved not to permit a landing. Such messengers of his as they allowed to come on shore were guarded through the streets of Leith, and not lost sight of so long as they remained; parties sent ashore in boats at any point for fresh water were met by armed opponents breast-deep and turned back; among hundreds of volunteer hands busy in strengthening the fortifications of Leith and the approaches to Edinburgh were some "ladies and gentlemen" of both towns, "carrying earth and stones," and "refusing no labour;" and conspicuous among these was Hamilton's own mother, the Marchioness-Dowager. She went about, it is said, "armed with a pistol, which she vowed to discharge upon her own son, if he offered to come on shore."[2] All that the Marquis could do, in these circumstances, was to cruise about, capturing a trading vessel or two, till his men, cooped-up on shipboard, or on the two small islands of Inchcomb and Inchkeith, began to die of small-pox. A chance, indeed, occurred to him, if he had been

[1] Spalding, I. 180; Rushworth, III. 930.

[2] Two MS. letters in S. P. O.—one of date May 7, to Windebank in London, from M. de Vic, a political agent attending Hamilton on board his ship, the *Rainbow*; the other of date May 9, to Windebank, from Edward Norgate, in attendance on the King at Newcastle.

quick enough to avail himself of it. The heroes of the "Trot of Turriff," dashing to Aberdeen immediately after that exploit, and joined by Lord Lewis Gordon, the third son of the Marquis of Huntley, repossessed themselves of that town, all the more easily because of the incorrigible royalist tendencies of the inhabitants and the smallness of the defence which the Covenanters had left. As Viscount Aboyne, Huntley's second son, had gone to the King at Newcastle, and was expected to return with the commission of King's lieutenant in the north in his father's place, it is possible that, if Hamilton's fleet had left the Firth of Forth for Aberdeen even as late as the middle of May, that town might have been turned to account. But the chance was lost. The Earls of Montrose and Marischal, speeding back to Aberdeen with some 5,000 Covenanters, so alarmed Lewis Gordon and the heroes of the "Trot of Turriff" that they fled, leaving the unfortunate town for a second and most severe punishment by the wearers of the blue ribbon (May 25). In especial, as the ladies of Aberdeen had, out of contempt of the Covenant, tied its colours round the necks of their dogs, there was a great slaughter of the dogs of the town.

While the King remained at Newcastle and Hamilton's fleet was in the Firth of Forth, the Scots, still anxious to avoid open war, made their last efforts for peace. Letters were addressed to Hamilton, as their countryman, requesting his mediation with the King; letters of similar purpose were sent to the Earl of Essex, whose character for liberality and fairness stood as high with the Scots as with the English; nay, the services of messengers and mediators of a humbler rank were gladly used. There was, for example, a certain Dr. Moysley, Vicar of Newark, who, taking an interest in the Scottish movement and wishing to observe matters with his own eyes, had gone into Scotland on a tour of curiosity. He had been going about for some weeks, and had seen a good deal of the Scottish clerical leaders, who found him a good, simple, candid kind of man, and by no means "Canterburian" in his views. He, on the other hand, found them and their cause by no means so bad as had been represented,

and professed that, though he had no commission, yet, as an English clergyman, he would consider it his duty, on his return to England, "to give the King better information" about them. To this good-natured Vicar, accordingly, leaving Edinburgh for Newcastle on the 11th of May, there was entrusted a "supplication" to the King, drawn up by Henderson in very "submiss" terms, together with letters in "a stouter style," drawn up by Argyle, to the Earls of Pembroke and Holland. And the Vicar was as good as his word. He had reached Newcastle and delivered his letters before the 17th of May; on which day I find Mr. Edward Norgate, clerk or secretary to Mr. Secretary Coke, writing as follows from Newcastle to Robert Reade, holding the same office to Secretary Windebank in London: "I met with Dr. Moysley, "Vicar of Newark, who seems a grave and well-spoken "divine. This doctor tells me, and will make it good with "the loss of his vicarage, that, during his fortnight's stay in "Edinburgh, he never heard word from any Scot savouring "of disaffection to our King or nation." As Norgate, like his master, Mr. Secretary Coke, was no friend to the war, he was pleased to hear such a report; but he could not help twitting the Doctor a little. "Seeing the Doctor," he says, "in a very formal and canonical priest's coat, I asked him if "he durst wear that in Scotland." The Doctor told him that, though he had gone about a great deal among the Presbyterians of all ranks, and though he had been taken in some places for a bishop, yet he had received not the least affront. But the Doctor's man, who was by, informed Norgate privately that his master was deaf, or else he would have had a different story to tell. The Scottish women, seeing him pass in his priest's coat, had saluted him with such ejaculations as "If thou beest a Bishop, the Deil hold thy head!" "A cauld cast on thy chaps!" or "My malison on thee!" the Doctor hearing not a word, or taking it all for compliment.[1]

Though the letters brought by Dr. Moysley were not without some effect, the King resolved that it would be best

[1] Letter of Norgate, of date cited, in S. P. O.; and Baillie, I. 207, 208.

at least to overawe the Scots by his near personal presence. Leaving Newcastle, therefore, he arrived with his Court and army, on the 28th of May, at Berwick, where there was already a strong garrison, and where he was separated but by the river Tweed from the rebellious land of his birth. The camp was pitched on a plain or haugh of the Tweed, at a place called Birks, about two miles above Berwick. Here, in the midst, stood the King's pavilion, and round it, at various distances, the tents of the nobles and courtiers, and of the inferior officers and soldiers, with ensigns of different colours flying. The total of the troops, besides the garrison of Berwick, was 19,614 foot and 3,260 horse. Arundel was Lord-general or Commander-in-chief, with Essex for his Lieutenant-general, Holland for his Master of Horse, Lord Newport for Master of Ordnance, Lord Goring for Lieutenant-general of Horse, Lord Wilmot for Commissary-general, and Sir Jacob Astley for Sergeant-major-general. Among the commanders of horse-regiments were the Earl of Newcastle, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Viscount Grandison, Lord Clifford, Thomas Fairfax, and the witty Sir John Suckling; and, among the commanders of foot-regiments, the Earl of Lindsey, Sir Ferdinando Fairfax, Lord Barrymore, Sir Henry Vane, Sir William Savile, and Sir John Hotham. Serving under these in the horse-troops or as subalterns in the foot-regiments were many English gentlemen of good families and estates.[1] Had the King chosen, he might have had the services also of a good many of the refugee Scots. These refugee Scots, however, not being favourites in the English camp, the greater number of them had been required

[1] Rushworth, III. 926, 927, where lists of the regiments and their commanders are given. In the S. P. O. are many documents relating to the northern army and the camp at Birks—including the "musters" or parchment rolls containing, county by county, the names of all the poor fellows draughted to serve in this expedition of Xerxes. From the same sources I have gathered the following as to the rates of pay in the army *per diem*. Arundel, as lord-general, had £10 a day; Essex £6; Holland £5; Newport £4; Goring and Astley £2 each; Wilmot £1 10*s*. Colonels of Foot had £1 a day each; lieut.-colonels 10*s*.; captains of companies 6*s*.; lieutenants 3*s*.; ensigns 2*s*. 6*d*.; sergeants and drummers 1*s*.; corporals 10*d*.; and each private soldier 8*d*. In the Horse the pay was higher—8*s*. for every captain; 5*s*. for lieutenants, 4*s*. for cornets, 3*s*. for corporals, and 2*s*. 6*d*. for every private. Army chaplains and physicians had 6*s*. 8*d*. a day; chirurgeons from 4*s*. to 2*s*. 6*d*.; "preachers" 4*s*.; apothecaries 3*s*. 4*d*.

either to shift for themselves in England, or to return to Scotland to be of what use they could in their respective districts. Young Viscount Aboyne, who had managed to reach the King at Newcastle by a coasting boat from Aberdeenshire in very poor guise, did obtain the King's commission to return as his Lieutenant in the North, and, along with this, an order to the Marquis of Hamilton to see him conveyed back to Aberdeen, with such Aberdonian or other refugees as chose to accompany him, and with such help in the shape of English soldiers and war-materials as could be spared from the fleet.

The King's advance to the border had been preceded by a proclamation forbidding the Scots to approach in arms within ten miles of the English lines. Willing to respect this order as long as there might be chance of accommodation, Leslie had made the head-quarters of the Scottish army at Dunglass, on the Haddingtonshire coast, about 30 miles from Edinburgh and 25 from Berwick. As he feared nothing so much for his countrymen, however, as a policy of mere blockade or inaction on the other side, which should waste time and exhaust the Scottish resources, he had made up his mind, if necessary, to take the initiative, or, as Baillie expresses it, to "make a bolt through the reek and get a grip of some of those that had first kindled the fire and still laid fuel to it." With this view, his expresses were already out for the quick assembly at Dunglass of such forces as were still delayed in the north or otherwise dispersed. Let them finish with the King first, and there would be time to reckon with the Aberdonians afterwards if they again stirred! While he was so reasoning, two little movements on the King's side gave him all the pretext he wanted. After midnight, on the 31st of May, the Lord-general Arundel, having heard of an intended muster of Covenanters that day at Dunse in Berwickshire, some miles from the English camp, and thinking it would be a good stroke to surprise them, took the road secretly, with Holland, Goring, and a small band of horse. When, about daybreak, however, they reached Dunse, they found the men all flown, and only women and children in an uproar of fear. Some of them went so far as to cry "Deil tak Leslie," and others were

down on their knees, imploring the General "not to burn their houses and bring in Paperie." On Arundel's courteously reassuring them, they brought "wine, ale, pans of milk, and such-like trinkets as they had," not refusing payment; and, as nothing more was to be done, and it was ascertained indeed that tidings of the intended visit had reached Dunse two hours beforehand (sent, doubtless, by some of the kindly Scottish pages about the King), the party rode back. But, three days afterwards, Holland, repeating the exploit for himself, by a different road, and on a larger scale, came off in even a sorrier manner. With 1,000 horse and 3,000 foot he had got as far as Kelso, when, at a moment when his horse was a mile or two in advance of his foot, he became aware of the presence, not of Arundel's old women at Dunse, but of a body of Scottish horse and pikemen, posted on and by the sides of the road at the entrance to the town. Appearances not being favourable, Holland called a halt, and ordered a trumpet to advance to ask who they were that lay so near the King. "Whose trumpet are you?" was the Scottish answer. "My Lord Holland's" was the reply; whereupon there came from the other spokesman the information that they did not know what business Lord Holland had to be there asking such questions, and that if he did not begone "they would show him the way." Holland, after consulting with his officers, took the advice given him, and retreated at full speed, the Scots making no attempt to prevent him. His return set the whole camp talking; and, though he blamed Roger Witherington, the scoutmaster, for having misled him by defective information, and represented the body of Scots that had turned him back as 10,000 at the least, ill-natured people gave their own version of the matter, and from that day the story of his Kelso raid was never forgotten against him. The Scots whom he had met were a band under Colonel Monro and Lords Fleming and Erskine.[1]

[1] Baillie, I. 205—208 (with letters of Leslie in Appendix to Baillie, 438 *et seq.*); and, for Arundel's and Holland's raids, three letters in S. P. O.—viz. one from Norgate to Reade, dated "Berwick, June 3;" one from Sir Henry Vane to Hamilton, dated "June 4;" and another from Norgate to Reade, dated "June 5." See also Rushworth, III. 936.

The Scottish territory having been invaded, there was an end to the rule of the ten miles' distance between the two camps. If that rule were not to be reciprocal, the King had only to advance, and the Scots would have to retreat before him, by ten miles and ten miles, till they reached John o'Groat's. In short, Leslie raised his camp at Dunglass, and, his army having been swelled by the last levies to be expected, encamped, on the 4th of June, on Dunse Law, a gentle hill, of no great size, but convenient for the purpose, near the aforesaid town of Dunse, and commanding the direct road from Berwick to Edinburgh. The two armies were now within six or seven miles of each other, and the King, who had had no warning of Leslie's approach, could view his rebel-subjects and their movements through his prospect-glass.[1]

"It would have done you good," writes Baillie to his cousin Spang, minister at Campvere in Holland, "to have casten "your eyes athort our brave and rich hill as often as I did. "Our hill was garnished on the top, towards the south and "east, with our mounted cannon, well near to the number of "forty, great and small. Our regiments lay on the sides of "the hill, almost round about, the total number being about "20,000 men. The crowners lay in kennous [canvas] "lodges, high and wide; their captains about them in lesser "ones; the sojours about all, in huts of timber, covered with "divot [turf] or straw. Our crowners for the most part were "noblemen. Rothes, Lindsay, Sinclair, had among them two "full regiments at least from Fife; Balcarras a horse-troop; "Loudoun, Montgomery, Erskine, Boyd, Fleming, Kirkcud-"bright, Yester, Dalhousie, Eglintoun, Cassilis, and others, "either with whole or half regiments." Baillie explains that Montrose was absent in the north, and that Argyle was not in the camp at first, but came in a few days with an addition of Highlanders to those already in the camp. "Our "captains," he continues, "for the most part barons or gen-"tlemen of good note; our lieutenants almost all sojours who "had served over the sea in good charges: every company had,

[1] Rushworth, III. 937, and Baillie, I. 210.

"flying, at the captain's tent-door, a brave new colour, stamped "with the Scottish arms, and this ditton, 'For Christ's "Crown and Covenant,' in golden letters." Of the soldiers he says that they "were all lusty and full of courage, the most of them stout young ploughmen." Though there was difficulty in obtaining money enough from Edinburgh to give them "their sixpence a day" regularly, there was little discontent on that score, from the abundance of provisions. "Our meanest sojours was always served in wheat-bread, and "a groat would have gotten them a lamb-leg; which was a "dainty world to the most of them." Moreover, "every one "encouraged another; the sight of the nobles and their be-"loved pastors daily raised their hearts;" and there were "the "good sermons and prayers, morning and even, under the roof "of heaven, to which the drums did call them for bells," and "the remonstrances very frequent of the goodness of their "cause, and of their conduct hitherto by a hand clearly divine." For the officers there were more special "ecclesiastic meetings" in Rothes's tent. Military meetings or councils of war were held at Leslie's quarters in the Castle of Dunse at the foot of the hill. Here, surrounded by a guard of some hundreds of Edinburgh lawyers armed as musketeers, Leslie kept open table at his own charge; in which custom he was imitated by some of the nobles. Every night Leslie himself and his Lieutenant-general Baillie rode the rounds of the camp and saw to the setting of the watches. The faith in Leslie was unbounded. "We were feared," says Baillie, "that emulation among our nobles might have done harm, "when they should be met in the fields; but such was the "wisdom and authority of that old little crooked soldier "that all, with ane incredible submission, from the beginning "to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, "as if he had been Great Solyman." In fine, all was in such perfect condition, physically and morally, that the good minister of Kilwinning had never felt himself before in so "sweet, meek, humble, yet strong" a frame of spirit, and could then and there willingly have died.[1]

[1] Baillie, I. 211—214.

The dim vision which Charles had of the Scottish army through his prospect-glass was not reassuring. Of the utter disorder and demoralization of his own army he could have no doubt. The commissariat arrangements were so wretched that, as he went about looking at the men trenching for a new camp, he was saluted with cries for bread and drink, and had to send for twenty or thirty cartloads of both on the spot. The men were so unhandy in the use of their arms that already a shot from one musket had gone through the royal tent. The officers were mostly "discomposed and unready," of which there was as free talk among the men "as if they were in Bantam." The very clerks and other attendants on the King were wishing that they were back in Westminster.[1] The nobles and chief officers, in whose readiness to serve him he could most fully trust, could give him no hope; and there were others of whose disinclination to the expedition from the first he was well aware. Then there was all England behind him, equally indisposed, with but few exceptions, and the Puritans more especially applauding Lord Saye and Sele and Lord Brooke for withstanding him to his face. In short, most reluctantly, after having come so far and made such a display of "the kingly way," he had to conclude that a reconciliation with the Scots would be advisable.[2] The question then was how to bring this about with the least loss to his kingly dignity. About that there was not much difficulty. There had been more coming and going between the two camps than he was aware of; and so, when, on the 5th of June, one Robin Leslie, a Scottish page of the King's, presented himself at Dunse Castle, where Leslie and the Scottish chiefs were holding consultation, and made a suggestion to them, as if purely out of his own head, that they should try another supplication to the King, the hint was at once understood. "Had we been ten times victorious in set battles," says Baillie, "it was our conclusion to "have laid down our arms at his feet, and on our knees presented nought but our first supplications. We had no other

[1] Letters from Norgate, from the camp, to Reade in London, of dates May 28 and June 3, in the S. P. O.

[2] Letter of Sir Henry Vane to Hamilton, of date June 4, given in Rushworth, III. 936.

"end of our wars; we sought no crowns; we aimed not at "lands and honours to our party; we desired but to keep "our own in the service of our Prince, as our ancestors had "done; we loved no new masters: had our throne been void, "and our voices sought for the filling of Fergus's chair, we "would have died ere any other had sitten down on that "fatal marble but Charles alone."[1] In short, from that day began a series of negotiations, which, continued over some twelve days, with various ebbings and flowings according to the ups and downs of the King's mood, issued, on Tuesday the 18th of June, in a formal Pacification.

The stages of the negotiation may be noted. First, on the 6th of June, the young Earl of Dunfermline was sent to the English camp, under a flag of truce, with a "supplication" to the King, and letters to the English Privy Councillors in camp requesting their good offices with his Majesty. Next Sir Edmund Verney, Knight Marshal, returned to the Scottish camp with Dunfermline, and a letter dictated by Mr. Secretary Coke, requiring certain submissions ere the King would treat. These submissions having been arranged, or got over with some ingenuity on both sides, the Earls of Rothes and Dunfermline, Lord Loudoun, and Sir William Douglas of Cavers went over, as Commissioners for the Scots, under safe-conduct, and had an interview, in Arundel's tent, with Arundel himself, Essex, Holland, the Earls of Salisbury and Berkshire, Sir Henry Vane, and Secretary Coke. While they were conversing, they were surprised and somewhat flurried by the sudden appearance of the King himself. He walked in, and began talking to them in such a way that they had some difficulty in reconciling their duty to their constituents with the forms of respect due to the royal reasoner. "Sure I am," he said, "you are never "able to justify all your actions; the best way, therefore, "were to take my word and submit all to my judgment." Not too much affected by such majestic nonsense, the Scottish Commissioners, remaining to dine with Arundel, were able to put some terms on paper on that day. Subsequent meetings having been held, in which Henderson and Archibald John-

[1] Baillie, I. 215.

stone were added to the number of the Scottish Commissioners, and the Marquis of Hamilton and the Earl of Pembroke to that of the English Commissioners, while the King now regularly sat among them and discussed everything in a business-like manner, there emerged at last a perfect treaty. Nothing was more surprising in these conferences than the liking which the King seemed to show for Henderson. Rothes and Loudoun seemed to be the other favourites, and he gave all the six Commissioners his hand to kiss at parting; but Henderson made the greatest impression. And not on the King only, but on all the English courtiers. "For Hyndersham," writes Norgate, "he is of all "highly commended for a grave, pious, and learned man. "He hath made one at every conference, and Mr. Secretary "[Coke] tells me that in all his speeches you may find as "much devotion, wisdom, humility, and obedience as can be "wished for in an honest man and a good subject." Something of this admiration of Henderson seems to have been reflected upon all his brethren of the Scottish Kirk. Not at all "incendiaries," but men who "can say grace longer "and better than *our* campestrial chaplains who ride before "our regiments taking tobacco," is Norgate's half-jocose report of the Earl of Stamford's opinion of the Presbyterian ministers, formed during a visit he had paid to the Scottish camp. And, as the Scottish Covenanting clergy had risen in favour, so the Scottish bishops and their clerical adherents had fallen. Everybody was "blessing them backwards," as the cause of the whole trouble; and such of them as were in the English camp went about in sore plight, the King himself "weary of them," and putting them off with 10*l.* or so apiece, "the whole Court hating them," and the pages "publicly jeering at them." Of all of them Baillie most pitied poor Dr. Barron of Aberdeen, who never held up his head, but died at Berwick ere a fortnight was over.[1]

[1] Baillie, I. 216, 217, and 220, 221; Stevenson, 376, 377; Rushworth, III. 937—943; and official memoranda of the Conferences in the S. P. O. — one being a "Journal of the Pacification," and another (June 13) a kind of verbatim report of the King's dialogue with the Scottish deputies; also Letters of Norgate to Reade, of dates June 15 and June 19, in S. P. O.

The "Pacification of Birks," as it was called, was embodied in two documents. One was a *Royal Declaration,* in which his Majesty, while guarding himself against being supposed to approve the acts of "the pretended Assembly" at Glasgow, or of "the pretended Tables," did nevertheless substantially promise all that was claimed. He promised the future regulation of all ecclesiastical and civil affairs in Scotland by free annual Assemblies of the Kirk, and free Parliaments of the realm; one such Assembly to be held on the 6th of August, and one such Parliament on the 20th of August immediately following, at both of which his Majesty hoped, God willing, to be personally present. The other document, entitled *Articles of Pacification,* consisted of eight Articles, relating to the immediate disbanding of the two armies, and the mutual restoration of persons, goods, ships, &c., seized on either side—one Article providing for the resurrender to the King of his castles and forts in Scotland.[1] Any demur to the terms of these Articles was rather on the Scottish side than on the English; and when, on the 24th of June, the English army was disbanded, it was, says Norgate, like the "break-up of a school."[2] Less polite to the Scots than Norgate's words on the occasion, but equally to the purpose, are those of Thomas Windebank, eldest son of Secretary Windebank, and in attendance on the King as groom of the chamber. "We have had," he says, in a letter from the camp to his cousin Reade in London after the Peace was concluded, "a most cold, wet, and long "time of it; but we kept our soldiers warm with the hopes "of rubbing, fubbing, and scrubbing those scurvy, filthy, "dirty, nasty, lousy, itchy, scabby, slovenly, snotty-nosed, "loggerheaded, foolish, insolent, proud, beggarly, impertinent, "absurd, grout-headed, villanous, barbarous, bestial, false, "lying, roguish, devilish, long-eared, short-haired, damnable, "atheistical, Puritanical crew of the Scotch Covenant. But "now there is peace in Israel."[3]

[1] Rushworth, III. 943 — 946; and Baillie, I. 217, 218.

[2] Letter to Reade in S. P. O.

[3] Letter in S. P. O. dated "Berwick, June 22." I have omitted two of Windebank's adjectives as unpresentable. We shall meet this humorous young gentleman again.

A very precarious peace it was. Hardly had the treaty been concluded when the King's ill humour with it began to show itself. For about a month, indeed, he remained at Berwick, consulting about Scottish affairs with Rothes, Argyle, Montrose, and others of the Covenanting leaders, summoned thither to meet him. But these consultations, on his side, were changed into reproaches. In consequence of the popular discontent in Scotland arising from the phrases "pretended Assembly" and "pretended Tables" used by the King in his Declaration, and from the too great advantages seemingly given to the King in some of the Articles of the treaty, it had been found necessary to accompany the formal proclamations of the treaty in Scottish towns with certain "informations against mistaking the same." Of these Charles spoke as "seditious glosses," and he was very quarrelsome on account of them, not only with Rothes, Argyle, and Montrose, but also with the Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury, and some others of the English Commissioners, who were accused of having abetted the Scots in their private dealings with them. At all events, he could not think of now countenancing Scotland so far as to go to Edinburgh to open the Assembly and the Parliament as he had intended! Accordingly, having appointed Traquair as his Commissioner for that duty (Hamilton positively refusing to serve in the office again), he turned his back to Scotland on the 29th of July; and on the 3rd of August he was again at Whitehall.[1]

[1] There are more detailed accounts of the King's conduct at Berwick after the Peace in Baillie, I. 220, 221; Stevenson, 384 *et seq.*; Rushworth, III. 946 *et seq.*; and in MSS. in the S. P. O. Among the last is a correspondence between Secretary Windebank and the Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury relating to their alleged complicity with the Scots.

CHAPTER II.

MILTON BACK IN ENGLAND—OLD FRIENDS—*EPITAPHIUM DAMONIS*—LODGINGS IN ST. BRIDE'S CHURCHYARD—LITERARY PROJECTS—MILTON'S SISTER AND HIS TWO NEPHEWS.

MILTON may have received the news of the conclusion of the King's war with the Scots either at Geneva or at Paris, in which last city there appeared an official gazette, of date July 20, 1639, containing *Le Traité fait entre le Roy de la Grande Bretagne et les Ecossois du Covenant.*[1] Crossing to Dover, he was back in London, or probably in his father's house at Horton, Buckinghamshire, almost exactly at the time when the Londoners were receiving Charles back from his unsuccessful northern expedition.

At Horton Milton found little changed. His father was still there, going about hale as usual; and his younger brother, Christopher, and Christopher's young wife, Thomasine, in whose charge he had left the old man, were still residing under the paternal roof. Christopher was not yet called to the bar, though he had been for nearly seven years a student of the Inner Temple. Of one little appearance and disappearance in the Horton household during his absence Milton would now hear both from the old man and the young, and also, more sadly, from the young wife. Examining the Horton parish-register, I came, not without some feeling myself, upon this entry—"1639: An infant sonne of Christopher Milton, gent., buried March y^{e} 26$^{th.}$" It is the small remaining record now of the existence of a little nephew of Milton's, the first-born of Christopher and his wife, who had died without

1 There is a copy of this gazette in the S. P. O. Both Charles and Windebank were evidently anxious about the impression made abroad by recent events in Britain.

having lived long enough to have a name, or to have been seen by his uncle. They had laid the little body, I suppose, in the same grave, in the chancel of the church close by, where Milton had seen his mother buried two years before, and the plain blue stone covering which, and inscribed with the name and the date of the death, is now the most sacred object in that quiet rustic church. The Rector of the parish, Mr. Goodall, who had entered the little burial in the register, had himself, as another entry in his hand proves, had a new little one born to him in the Rectory.[1] In the colony of the Bulstrodes, already known to us as the chief people of Horton, and as living partly in the manor-house with Squire Henry Bulstrode and partly in other adjacent houses, there had been a very recent death.[2] But, indeed, the deaths in Horton seem at that time, and chiefly from mortality among infants, to have been preponderating over the births. Against 28 burials in the year 1638, and 27 in the year 1639, I read in the registers of but 13 christenings and 10 christenings respectively. The Horton marriages for 1638 are 4, and for 1639 they are 6; so that there may have been about half-a-dozen weddings in the place while Milton was abroad. What other little incidents of the familiar neighbourhood during his absence may have had some interest for him, or for his serving-man, after their return, are now as irrecoverable as those golden days of an English autumn that again beheld him enjoying the rest of his father's house, or walking amid the richly-wooded English meadows round it, with the towers of Windsor once more in his view.

Would not one of his first walks, in the direction of those towers, be to Eton College, to pay his respects, after his return, to that good old Sir Henry Wotton, whose acquaintance he had made just before his departure, who had then spoken so handsomely both of him and of his *Comus*, who had expressed his desire that they might yet see more of each other, and who had sent after him so thoughtfully a letter of introduction to friends in Paris, and that memorable advice

[1] It is among the baptisms: "1639: Anne, daughter of Edward and Sarah Goodall, bap. May 28."

[2] "Isaac, sonn of Edwarde and Mildred Bulstrode, buried July 28th."

for his behaviour in Italy, the fruit of his own former diplomatic experience there, "*I pensieri stretti, et il viso sciolto*"?[1] Alas! the good old Provost of Eton, the first man of public mark that had recognized the genius of Milton in what we should now consider fit terms, was all but on his deathbed. As late as the spring of this very year he had been in his usual health, taking his usual interest in the affairs of the day, and corresponding as usual with his numerous friends. He had been following with anxiety the course of the King's expedition against the Scots, had been reading Dr. Balcanquhal's "Large Declaration" of the grounds which the King had for war upon his Scottish subjects, and, influenced partly by the representations of that work, and partly by the habits of thought of an old politician, had considered the cause of the Covenanters very untenable, and their conduct "very black."[2] He had set out from Eton on his usual summer tour, and had visited, among other places, Winchester School, where he had been educated, and where the sight of the youngsters playing at the same games that he had played at sixty years before pleased his benevolent heart. But he had scarcely returned to Eton when asthma and other infirmities laid him prostrate. He could no longer go abroad, or continue his wonted hospitalities within doors, or even enjoy his favourite solace of tobacco. He would still converse, indeed, with John Hales, and other fellows of the College in close attendance upon him, to whom he was leaving the care of his books, pictures, and manuscripts. Occasionally he would refer to public affairs; but chiefly he confined himself, as his biographer tells us, to pious retrospects of his long and chequered life, and to expressions of thanksgiving to God for all his many mercies. It is very doubtful whether, in these circumstances, Milton could have had access to him, or whether, if Milton did see him, anything more could have passed than the merest tokens of respectful regret on the one hand, and kindly questionings about the Italian journey on the other. Certain it is that that renewal of their acquaint-

[1] See Vol. I. 683—685.

[2] Letter of Wotton, dated April 21, 1639, in *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ* (edit. 1685), p. 580.

ance over "a poor meal or two," in Sir Henry's rooms, and in the company of their common friend Mr. Hales, to which Sir Henry had looked forward, could not now take place. Sir Henry lingered on till December, when he died, in his seventy-second year.[1]

Either in his father's house at Horton, or in visits to London, Milton might obtain information respecting old friends and acquaintances now dispersed. His first preceptor, Thomas Young, was still in his vicarage of Stowmarket in Suffolk, watching the signs of the times with the feelings natural to an English Puritan minister who had not forgotten his Scottish birth. For the present, indeed, he was wearing the surplice which his parishioners had been obliged to provide for him, to avoid the censure of so strict a diocesan as Wren of Norwich; but he was nursing his Puritan principles nevertheless, and he had just (1639) given proof of them in a thin Latin quarto, printed at Ipswich for private circulation, and containing, under the title of "*Dies Dominica*," a history of the Sabbath, and a vindication of the Puritan idea of its institution. He had not put his name to this treatise, but had signed himself "Theophilus Philo-Kuriaces, Loncardiensis." It was a designation the meaning of which no English ingenuity could then have made out, but in which we now read a covert assertion of his sympathy with the struggle in his native land. "A lover of the Kirk (or perhaps rather 'of the Lord's Day') all the way from Luncarty in Perthshire, though now labouring in Suffolk"—this, or something like this, is the meaning that Young, in fear of Wren or of Laud, had ingeniously packed up in the uncouth-looking pseudonym.[2]

There was no such necessity for secrecy among those other old friends of Milton, most of them also of the clerical

[1] Izaak Walton's Life of Wotton.

[2] Hollingworth's Hist. of Stowmarket (1844), pp. 187—194. Young's treatise on the Sabbath seems to be very scarce; but there is a copy of it in the Edinburgh University Library, and Mr. Hollingworth describes one which was in his possession, and which bore Young's name on it, written apparently by his own hand. The treatise consists of 132 pages of Latin, with Greek quotations. It is described by Mr. Robert Cox in his work *The Literature of the Sabbath Question* (Edin. 1865. 2 vols.), to whom I owe the suggestion that "*Kuriakes*" means "Lord's Day" rather than "Church" or "Lord's House," as I had hinted, Vol. I. p. 52.

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profession, who were associated in his memory with his college-days at Cambridge. While he had been abroad, Christ's College had suffered a great loss in the death of its famous news-collector and Apocalyptic commentator, Joseph Meade. He had died on the 1st of the preceding October, in his well-known rooms in the College, in the chapel of which his bones still rest. Poorer by this loss, the old College was otherwise much as it had been when Milton left England. Bainbrigge was still Master; Power, Siddall, Honeywood, Gell, and Alsop were still among the Fellows; and young Henry More, now M.A., was still resident in the College, its recognized hope since the death of Edward King, and with a fellowship in prospect.

Both Milton's tutors at Christ's, as the reader already knows, had left the College several years before Milton had set out on his travels.[1] Respecting them, therefore, his information would necessarily be more indirect. Of Tovey there was little to learn, save that he was still parson of Lutterworth. Chappell, on the other hand, was now rather a notorious person in connexion with Wentworth's Irish government. Since his appointment in 1634 to the Provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, on the nomination of Laud, there had been a continued opposition to him among the undergraduates and junior Fellows of the College, on account of his so-called "Arminianising" tendencies, his zeal for Laudian uniformity, and the general severity of his management. The Visitors of the College, among whom was the Irish Primate Usher, had taken up the feud, and, being mostly Calvinists or adverse to Laud's influence in Ireland, had sided rather with the opposition than with Chappell. The Lords Justices in Ireland had also been appealed to officially; one of the junior Fellows, named Phesant, who had particular grievances against Chappell, and whom Laud styles "a very bold young man," had gone over to London to urge the complaint; and the thing had grown into the dimensions of a public quarrel, in which Laud as Chancellor of Trinity College, Wentworth as Irish Viceroy, and the King

[1] Vol. I. pp. 105–107, and p. 646.

himself as consulted by them, were resolute in standing by Chappell, against Usher, the Visitors, the junior Fellows of the College, and the popular opinion of Dublin. The particulars of the story are to be gathered from an extensive correspondence begun as early as September 1636, and not ended at the time at which we have now arrived. Laud, from the first, had taken up the cause of his client most stoutly, writing over to Usher that he was astonished that a few "young men newly started up from boys" should be allowed to cause such a disturbance, and treating the special charges against Chappell—his Arminianism, his so-called "idolatrical" habit of making obeisance on entering church, his zeal for the new statutes, and his general strictness—as either of no consequence, or actual testimonies to his merit. "Should a Provost that is otherwise vigilant and careful," he says, "err in some circumstantial businesses, it is far better "for the public, if not to maintain his errors, yet to pass by "them, rather than to give countenance and encouragement "to such young heads as seek for no other liberty than that "which may make way for licentiousness." What Laud thus advised by letter, Wentworth, who had been absent from Ireland at the outbreak of the quarrel, took care to carry by the high hand. In spite of Usher and the other visitors, and of public opinion in Dublin, Wentworth had not only maintained Chappell in the Provostship, but had so countenanced him as greatly to increase his unpopularity, and earn for him among Irish ultra-Protestants the reputation of being Laud's chief instrument in Ireland, and a perfect Canterbury in miniature. "I have so great an opinion of his government "and integrity," writes Wentworth to Laud, "that I am "putting my own son thither under his eye and care; by "which you will judge that I propose not to have him one "of Prynne's disciples." Indeed, Wentworth's high opinion of Chappell as Provost stood in the way of Chappell's preferment to a Bishopric, the Provostship being so important a post, and Wentworth knowing, as he said, of no man so fit for it if he lost Chappell. Here, however, Laud looked after the interests of his client, who ought not, as he said, to

suffer from his own excellence. He persuaded the King to make an exception in that particular case to his rule in appointments to bishoprics, and to promote Chappell to the vacant Irish bishopric of Cloyne and Ross, allowing him still to retain the Provostship *in commendam*. This promotion had been made in the summer of 1638, and the last phase in the Chappell quarrel had been a remonstrance on the part of Usher and the Irish against such a union of the Provostship and an Irish bishopric in the same hands. It was contrary to the oath in Laud's own statutes of the College, Usher urged, and would be a pernicious precedent. Chappell, he understood, was willing to resign the Provostship to a brother of his who was then "keeping" with him in the College. If there were objections to that arrangement, why not offer the Provostship to that worthy man, Mr. Joseph Meade, of Christ's College, Cambridge (this was three months before Meade's death), whom everybody would allow to be fit for it, and who, indeed, had been named for it four years before, when his College-comrade, Chappell, got it? Or, there was another Cambridge man who would do very well —Mr. Howlett, recently fellow and tutor of Sidney-Sussex College, but now in Ireland; respecting whose qualifications the Bishop of Derry (Bramhall) would be able to satisfy his Grace. Accordingly Bramhall did write to Laud in favour of Howlett. He had himself for some time been a pupil of Howlett's at Sidney-Sussex College (another pupil of Howlett's there, perhaps known to Bramhall as such, having been Oliver Cromwell), and he could certify him to be "a moderate man in his tenets," with whom no man had had a quarrel in his time, and who was yet "far from Dr. Ward's rigidity and his way"—*i.e.* far from being so much of a Puritan as Dr. Samuel Ward, master of Sidney-Sussex, was still reputed to be. Moreover, he had about 600*l.* a year of his own from land in England, and was about to marry the daughter of Mrs. Browne, whom Laud knew. In spite of all which negotiation, the matter had not been ended when Milton returned from abroad, and the Provostship, with the bishopric of Cloyne and Ross, still remained in Chappell's

hands. If the reader remembers what cause Milton had had to know about Chappell's temper and ways for himself (see Vol. I. 135-6), it will not appear strange that those recent incidents of Chappell's Irish career should have had some interest for him of a personal kind. They even seem to cast back light on that passage of Milton's life at Cambridge which has so perplexed his biographers. The unknown young Irishman, Phesant, whom Laud thought a forward young man, seems to have been very much in that predicament with Chappell, in Trinity College, Dublin, in the year 1636, in which Milton had been at Christ's College, Cambridge, ten years before.[1]

Long before Milton could have collected such news of Chappell and other old acquaintances at a distance, he must have looked up his nearer friends in and about London. Among these were Alexander Gill the younger, and Henry Lawes the musician. Gill, no longer needing to be styled "the younger" (for his father had been dead since 1635, and he was now a man of forty-two, and a Doctor of Divinity to boot), was still in his father's place as head-master of St. Paul's School. He was now on good terms enough with Laud and the other constituted authorities of Church and State; and the recollection of his former misdeeds and punishment had pretty well blown over, notwithstanding Ben Jonson's scarifying references to them.[2] But he was the same rough, blustering unfortunate as ever. His Latin verses were finding their way about, and attesting his scholarship, such as it was; but in the School he was by no means giving satisfaction, and the Mercers, as patrons of the School, were thinking of removing him, chiefly on account of his savage treatment of the boys.[3] If from the Schoolhouse in Old Change Milton went to the house or chambers of Henry Lawes, to show him some of the rare new music, by Marenzo and other masters, of which he had brought over two chests from Italy,

[1] The information respecting Chappell in this paragraph is partly from letters in the *Strafford Papers*, partly from extensive transcripts of my own from the original correspondence in the State Paper Office (Irish series of Papers). But see also Dr. Elrington's Life of Usher, prefixed to the collected edition of Usher's Works (Dublin, 1847).

[2] Vol. I. p. 529.

[3] Wood's Athen. III. 42.

the contrast between Gill and the gentle musician must have been great. The reputation of Lawes had been growing since he set the songs of Milton's *Comus* to music, and he had been performing similar services since for other poets, such as Waller and Herrick, better known about the Court, though perhaps not so dear to himself. He was still teaching music in the Bridgewater family, and Milton might hear from him, if he did not otherwise know it, that the family were then mainly residing not at Ludlow or at Ashridge, but in their town-house in the Barbican.[1] It was more than three years since the Earl had been left a widower by the death of his Countess, and more than two since her mother, the venerable Countess-Dowager of Derby, the heroine of the *Arcades*, had died at Harefield. The elder daughters of the widowed Earl had for some time been married and away from him ; but the three of his children in whom Milton would feel most interest, as those pupils of Lawes who had not only taken part in the little open-air entertainment of the *Arcades* at Harefield House,[2] but had been the actors in the masque of *Comus* at Ludlow Castle,[3] were still under the Earl's roof. The Lady Alice was in her nineteenth year, and the two brothers, Lord Brackley and Mr. Thomas Egerton, were yet but growing youths.

One friend, alas ! whose welcome would have been dearer to Milton than that of any other, was no longer in the world. It must have been with a sad heart that Milton, first after his return, bent his steps to the house of the Italian physician, Dr. Theodore Diodati, in Little St. Bartholomew's parish, near Bartholomew's Hospital,[4] to ascertain from him, or from his surviving son, Theodore,[5] the particulars of that death of his friend Charles Diodati which had happened during his absence, and the vague news of which had been such a shock to him abroad. What these particulars were, as to the exact

[1] Letters of the Earl in the S. P. O., of the years 1639 and 1640, are mostly dated from his house in the Barbican.

[2] Vol. I. p. 562.

[3] Ibid. p. 574.

[4] He resided there in July, 1641 : see Hunter's "Milton Gleanings."

[5] Allusion is made by Milton to Diodati's brother in his letter to Diodati, of Sept. 2, 1637 (see Vol. I. p. 598); and I find a "Dr. Theodore Deodate" mentioned in the lists of London physicians in Chamberlayne's *Notitia Angliæ* as late as the year 1676.

time, place, and manner of the death, *we* also should like to know; but hitherto they have eluded our utmost search.[1] Whatever they were, they must have affected Milton deeply.

[1] The tradition is that Charles Diodati had settled as a physician somewhere near Chester, and died there. This, I suspect, is a mere inference from the fact that he had been in that neighbourhood in 1626, when Milton sent him the *Elegia Prima* (Vol. I. p. 139). To all appearance, however, that was a casual visit just after Diodati had taken his B. A. degree at Oxford; and, in the course of the twelve years between that and his death, there are traces of him as again at Oxford, and in London, and still other parts of the country. More particularly, in Sept. 1637, when Milton wrote the two last letters to him that have been preserved (Vol. I. pp. 597—601), we hear of him simply as somewhere in the North (*apud istos ὑπερβορείους*), apparently in medical practice, but not so fixed there but that Milton might expect him any time in London again. It appears to me, therefore, that the place of Diodati's death, in the summer of 1638, has yet to be ascertained, and may have been much nearer London than Chester. The register of his burial may yet be found somewhere. I should be glad to receive any information that would enable me to be more distinct in my references to so interesting a person.—Meanwhile here is a curious coincidence hit upon in my readings:—From a passage in Milton's last letter to Diodati, of date Sept. 23, 1637, speaking of some family matters that were troubling Diodati, and more particularly of a "stepmotherly war [*bellum hoc novercale*]" in which he was engaged, I had inferred that Diodati had then recently acquired a stepmother, by a second marriage of his father, Dr. Theodore Diodati, rather late in life. The "war" cannot have been, as Mr. Keightley supposes (*Life of Milton*, p. 102), with a stepmother *surviving* the old gentleman and disputing his property with the sons; for Dr. Theodore Diodati outlived his son Charles, and did not die till Feb. 1650–1, when he was nearly seventy-seven years of age. It can only be that, about 1637, when the Doctor was sixty-three years of age, he had taken a second wife, and that his son Charles did not like the occurrence. It does not seem to have interfered in the least, however, with the Doctor's practice, or with his activity and cheerfulness. Among his more aristocratic patients, I find, were Sir Robert Harley, K.B., afterwards member for Herefordshire in the Long Parliament, and a sound Parliamentarian, and Sir Robert's wife, Lady Brilliana, sister of Lord Conway. Now, Lady Brilliana was an active correspondent; a collection of her Letters, mainly from the family seat of Brampton-Bryan, Herefordshire, has been published (*Camden Society*: 1854); and in several of these letters, addressed to her son Edward Harley, then at Oxford, mention is made, at intervals between 1638 and 1641, of Dr. Diodati from London and his professional visits to the Harleys and their neighbours. The first of these mentions is all that need be quoted here: "Feb. 1, 1638 [*i.e.* 1638-9]." writes Lady Brilliana to her son: "Dr. Deodate was sent for to Mr. "Robert Moore's wife, who is lately "come out of the Low Countries: she "had a great fever. Dr. Deodate, being "so near, came to see your father and "myself; he did not forget to ask for "you, with a great deal of love, and "expresses a great deal of desire after "your good. He is very well, and "merrier than ever I saw him. His "man told Phœbe [one of Lady Bril-"liana's maids?] that his mistress "[*i.e.* the man's mistress, Doctor Dio-"dati's wife] is with child: if it be so, "sure that is the ground of his mirth. "Your ancient friend, Mrs. Trafford, "is very big with child, and Doctor "Deodate does something fear her. "He tells me he was almost in love "with her when she served me, but "now he cannot fancy her."—Here, certainly, we have an unexpected glimpse of the old physician on one of his country trips, seven or eight months, as I calculate, after the death of his son Charles, Milton's friend. Notwithstanding that loss, he is merrier and more jocular than usual; and this is attributed to a certain domestic expectation, promising him a child thirty years younger than his dead Charles would have been. The naturalized London physician, brother of the famous Genevese divine, is to be fancied, it seems, as a cheery, active veteran, with courtly and gallant Italian ways to the last.

Indeed, so far as Milton's remaining writings furnish us with the means of inferring the nature of his occupations and meditations during the first month or two after his return to England, we see this death of his friend Diodati overclouding and darkening for him everything else. Going and coming between Horton and London, and making up, as we have fancied, the arrears of his information as to what of public or of private interest had passed in his absence, we see him nevertheless thinking day after day of this most mournful event of all, and unable to get the image of his friend and the reported circumstances of his decease out of his mind. His thoughts on the subject took at length the form of an *In Memoriam* poem. The poem stands now in his works as that Latin elegy which, under the title of "*Epitaphium Damonis*," is the sole remnant of his Muse at this particular period of his life, and, except one or two slight subsequent scraps, the last exercise of his pen in Latin verse. It is, in fact, mainly to the unfortunate circumstance that he chose to write this poem in Latin, whereas he had written his *Lycidas* in English, that we are to attribute the impression, now so general, that Edward King of Christ's College was the pre-eminent and peculiar friend of Milton's earlier life. Such was not the case. That the Edward King, drowned in the Irish seas in 1637, and celebrated so beautifully in the pastoral elegy of *Lycidas*, had a high place in Milton's regard, and was affectionately regretted by him, we have already sufficiently seen, when examining that poem.[1] But *the* friend of Milton's early life, whose loss touched him with the keenest grief, and whose memory, as we shall yet see, continued to haunt him from the grave through the firmer years of his active manhood, was not the Irish-born King, but the half-Italian Diodati. They had been known to each other since their boyhood together at St. Paul's School; Diodati had been his correspondent and often his companion in later years, when the choice of different Universities and different walks of life had in some measure separated them; during Milton's Italian tour there was no one in England of whom he had thought so constantly as of Diodati;

[1] Vol. I. pp. 610—615.

and now, harshly and mysteriously as it seemed, this friend of friends was lost to him, at a time when absence and its thousand incidents had whetted the desire for his renewed society. The evidence of Milton's peculiar affection for Diodati does not rest alone on the *Epitaphium Damonis;* but it may help to bring the fact more distinctly into view if we pause for a while over that extraordinary poem. Like all Milton's Latin writings, it has been too much neglected, and I believe it falls to me for the first time to give any adequate idea of its biographical significance.

That the poem, though a poem of personal grief, should be in that "pastoral" form which we have long disused, and now account so artificial, will surprise no one who either knows what a place the Pastoral holds in the history of English Poesy, or has conceived a correct theory of this form of literature. Having discussed the subject at length in the course of our survey of British Literature in the beginning of Charles's reign (Vol. I. pp. 409–426), I need not return to it here, farther than to remind the reader that the modern critical notion of what was meant by a Pastoral in the hands of Spenser and the old poets is a ludicrously shallow one. When they spoke of themselves as shepherds, and introduced the supposed circumstances of an Arcadian life (the sheep, the sheep-hook, the repose under the beech-tree, the ditties on the oaten pipe, and all the rest of it) into their poetry, they no more dreamt of being bound to think of the real life of shepherds than we should do; they only adopted a well-understood literary device, which, though its day is now gone by, did then have the effect of floating off the imagination into a purely ideal element, and thus enabling the poet, while expressing feelings that were truly his own, to do so with added beauty, in a subtle or representative manner, as in an air-hung allegory or vision. Indeed, the device was so established that poets of the finer order, from Spenser onwards, had ceased to reason about it. If a poet of this order thought of some theme of a serious kind, were it a story of moral meaning or an elegy on some dead friend, it was natural to him, as by the mere custom of his craft, to throw the theme

at once into the Arcadian world, and, imagining himself a shepherd, to let the story or the lamentation shape itself out in the fancy of a pastoral landscape or sylvan ground and of a train of incidents thereon. So it was with Milton. His *Arcades* is a fragment of a little dramatic court-pastoral; his *Comus*, the "attendant spirit" in which transmutes himself into the "shepherd Thyrsis," is pervaded by the pastoral note; his *Lycidas*, or elegy on Edward King, is throughout a pastoral. It is not Milton personally that is there before us bewailing the death of his fellow-collegian; but there is reported to us by Milton the song of an imaginary shepherd, whom he sees lamenting through a whole summer day the death of his young fellow-shepherd Lycidas, and whom he at last describes as rising from his reverie at sundown, twitching his blue mantle, and going slowly homewards. But who shall say that there is any less feeling of reality in the effect? Who will not rather say that it is a finer monument to the memory of King to have let the fact of his death thus originate a whole mood of the poet's mind, and take possession of all the appropriate fancies, and even all the incidental thoughts about the state of England, that could come in that mood, than if the poet had merely registered the fact in a lyric of direct regret? It is *so*, at all events, that poets honour the dead. They carry the image of the dead one with them; they let the thought of the dead intertwine itself with all else that arises in their minds for a space less or more; and, if they are to pay the tribute of some single poem, then, out of the best choosing still the best, and giving to the result its most perfect shape, they lay *that* upon the tomb, saying, "This belongs to *you*." A true elegy, in this sense of the dedication to a departed friend of an artistic posy of the most beautiful thoughts and fancies that can be associated with his memory even by intellectual intention, is Milton's poem of *Lycidas*. Not less true an elegy in the same sense, but with far more of the evidence of direct and passionate grief in it, is the *Epitaphium Damonis*. Milton's grief for Diodati is of a much more personal and intimate nature, it is far more a grief of his own tears and of bursting sobs in

his solitude, than anything he had felt on the death of King. All the more strange, then, that in his elegy on Diodati the form should be that of the pastoral in its most extreme artificial variety. Not only is the language Latin, and the verse the hexameter; but the pastoral fancy is carried out with excessive minuteness, and there is a deliberate recollection and imitation throughout of particular idylls of the Greek poets, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, and of the Latin Virgil. With all these disadvantages, removing the poem from the habits of our modern taste, it will be found, by those who will take a little trouble with it, one of the noblest things that Milton has left us, and certainly one of the most interesting in its personal revelations. Even the following attempt at a translation into English hexameters will, I hope, convey some such impression:—

ON THE DEATH OF DAMON.

The Argument.

Thyrsis and Damon, shepherds of the same neighbourhood, following the same pursuits, were friends from their boyhood, in the highest degree of mutual attachment. Thyrsis, having set out to travel for mental improvement, received news when abroad of Damon's death. Afterwards at length returning, and finding the matter to be so, he deplores himself and his solitary condition in the following poem. Under the guise of Damon, however, is here understood Charles Diodati, tracing his descent on the father's side from the Tuscan city of Lucca, but otherwise English—a youth remarkable, while he lived, for his genius, his learning, and other most shining virtues.

Nymphs of old Himera's stream (for ye it was that remembered
Daphnis and Hylas when dead, and grieved for the sad fate of Bion),
Tell through the hamlets of Thames this later Sicilian[1] story—

1 "*This later Sicilian story:*" i. e. this modern tale after the model of the ancient pastoral poets, Theocritus and Moschus, both of whom were Sicilians, and neighbours of the Sicilian river Himera. Milton invokes the nymphs of that stream as the muses more especially of Pastoral Poetry. So also in *Lycidas* it is the "Sicilian Muse" that is present (line 133).—The first Idyll of Theocritus contains the lamentation of the shepherd Thyrsis for the dying shepherd Daphnis; the thirteenth Idyll of the same poet relates the loss of Hylas; and the third Idyll of Moschus deplores the death of Bion and is entitled "*Epitaphium Bionis.*" Milton adopts the name of Thyrsis for himself —having already used it as the name of one of his characters in *Comus:* the other names of imaginary shepherds and shepherdesses introduced in the

What were the cries and murmurs that burst from Thyrsis the wretched,
What lamentations continued he wrung from the caves and the rivers,
Wrung from the wandering brooks and the grove's most secret recesses,
Mourning his Damon lost, and compelling even the midnight
Into the sound of his woe, as he wandered in desolate places.
Twice had the ears in the wheatfields shot through the green of their sheathing,
As many crops of pale gold were the reapers counting as garnered,
Since the last day that had taken Damon down from the living,
Thyrsis not being by; for then that shepherd was absent,
Kept by the Muse's sweet love in the far-famed town of the Tuscan.[1]
But, when his satiate mind, and the care of his flock recollected,
Brought him back to his home, and he sat, as of old, 'neath the elm-tree,
Then at last, O then, as the sense of his loss comes upon him,
Thus he begins to disburthen all his measureless sorrow:—
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Ah me! what deities now shall I call on in earth or in heaven,
After the pitiless death by which they have reft thee, my Damon?
Thus dost thou leave us? thus without name is thy virtue departed
Down to the world below, to take rank with the shadows unnoted?
No! May He that disparteth souls with his glittering baton
Will it not so, but lead thee into some band of the worthies,
Driving far from thy side all the mere herd of the voiceless!
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Hap as it may, unless the wolf's black glance shall first cross me,
Not in a tearless tomb shall thy loved mortality moulder;
Stand shall thine honour for thee, and long henceforth shall it flourish
Mid our shepherd-lads; and thee they shall joy to remember
Next after Daphnis chief, next after Daphnis to praise thee,
So long as Pales and Faunus shall love our fields and our meadows,

poem, as well as most of the pastoral images, are also from the Greek and Latin pastoral poets. In the structure of the verse, too—as, for example, in the use of a recurring phrase breaking the lament into separate musical parts or bursts—he has followed the Greek precedent.

[1] These lines seem to fix, as the date of Diodati's death, the summer or autumn of 1638: see Vol. I. p. 776.

If it avails to have cherished the faith of the old and the loyal,
Pallas's arts of peace, and have had a tuneful companion!
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Kept are these honours for thee, and thine they *shall* be, my Damon!
But for myself what remains? For me what faithful companion
Now will cling to my side, in the place of the one so familiar,
All through the season harsh when the grounds are crisp with the snow-crust,
Or 'neath the blazing sun when the herbage is dying for moisture?
Were it the task to go forth in the track of the ravaging lions,
Or to drive back from the folds the wolf-packs boldened by hunger,
Who would now lighten the day with the sound of his talk or his singing?
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Whom shall I trust with my thoughts; or who will teach me to deaden
Heart-hid pains; or who will cheat away the long evening
Sweetly with chat by the fire, where hissing hot on the ashes
Roasts the ripe pear, and the chesnuts crackle beneath, while the South-wind
Hurls confusion without, and thunders down on the elm-tops?
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Then, in the summer, when day spins round on his middlemost axle,
What time Pan takes his sleep concealed in the shade of the beeches,
And when the nymphs have repaired to their well-known grots in the rivers,
Shepherds are not to be seen and under the hedge snores the rustic,
Who will bring me again thy blandishing ways and thy laughter,
All thy Athenian jests, and all the fine wit of thy fancies?
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Now all lonely I wander over the fields and the pastures,
Or where the branchy shades are densest down in the valleys;
There I wait till late, while the shower and the storm-blast above me
Moan at their will, and sighings shake through the breaks of the woodlands.
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Ah! how my fields, once neat, are now overgrown and unsightly,
Forward only in weeds, and the tall corn sickens with mildew!

Mateless, my vines droop down the shrivelled weight of their clusters;
Neither please me my myrtles; and even the sheep are a trouble;
They seem sad, and they turn their faces, poor things, to their master!
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Tityrus[1] calls to the hazels; to the ash-trees Alphesibœus;
Ægon suggests the willows: 'The streams,' says lovely Amyntas;
'Here are the cool springs, here the moss-broidered grass and the hillocks;
'Here are the zephyrs, and here the arbutus whispers the ripple.'
These things they sing to the deaf; so I took to the thickets and left them.
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Mopsus addressed me next, for he had espied me returning
(Wise in the language of birds, and wise in the stars too, is Mopsus):
'Thyrsis,' he said, 'what is this? what bilious humour afflicts thee?
'Either love is the cause, or the blast of some star inauspicious;
'Saturn's star is of all the oftenest deadly to shepherds,
'Fixing deep in the breast his slant leaden shaft of sickness.'
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Round me fair maids wonder. 'What will come of thee, Thyrsis?
'What wouldst thou have?' they say: 'not commonly see we the young men
'Wearing that cloud on the brow, the eyes thus stern and the visage:
'Youth seeks the dance and sports, and in all will tend to be wooing:
'Rightfully so: twice wretched is he who is late in his loving.'
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Dryope came, and Hyas, and Ægle, the daughter of Baucis
(Learned is she in the song and the lute, but O what a proud one!);
Came to me Chloris also, the maid from the banks of the Chelmer.

[1] Tityrus, Alphesibœus, &c. are all the names of shepherds in Virgil's Eclogues. Milton may, or may not, have had particular acquaintances of his in view under these names.

Nothing their blandishings move me, nothing their prattle of comfort;
Nothing the present can move me, nor any hope of the future.[1]
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Ah me! how like one another the herds frisk over the meadows,
All, by the law of their kind, companions equally common;
No one selecting for friendship this one rather than that one
Out of the flock! So come in droves to their feeding the jackals;
So in their turns pair also the rough untameable zebras.
Such too the law of the deep, where Proteus down on the shingle
Numbers his troops of sea-calves. Nay, that meanest of wing'd ones,
See how the sparrow has always near him a fellow, when flying
Round by the barns he chirrups, but seeks his own thatch ere it darkens;
Whom should fate strike lifeless—whether the beak of the falcon
Pin him in air, or he lie transfixed by the reed of the ditcher—
Quick the survivor is off, and a moment finds him remated.
We are the hard race, we, the battered children of fortune,
We of the breed of men, strange-minded and different-moulded!
Scarcely does any discover his one true mate among thousands;
Or, if kindlier chance shall have given the singular blessing,
Comes a dark day on the creep, and comes the hour unexpected,
Snatching away the gift, and leaving the anguish eternal.
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Ah! what roaming whimsy drew my steps to a distance,
Over the rocks hung in air and the Alpine passes and glaciers!
Was it so needful for me to have seen old Rome in her ruins—
Even though Rome had been such as, erst in the days of her greatness,
Tityrus,[2] only to visit, forsook both his flocks and his country—

[1] The female names here used are also from the old poets. The Chloris mentioned as "the maid from the banks of the Chelmer" (which seems to be the translation of "*Idumanii vicina fluenti*") may be a real person. The Chelmer is in Essex; and its influx into the sea is by Blackwater Bay, which is called by Ptolemy (says Warton) *Portus Idumanius*.

[2] In Virgil's first Eclogue, the shepherd Tityrus relates his visit to Rome, and the impression which the vastness of the city made on his rustic mind. Tityrus, in that Eclogue, represents Virgil himself; so that Milton's meaning here is "Was it so needful for me to go to see Rome, even if Rome had still been the great Rome of Virgil's days?" Milton's line (line 115 of *Epitaphium*)

"Ecquid erat tanti Romam vidisse sepultam?"

is all but a quotation of the 27th line of Virgil's Eclogue, where Melibœus asks Tityrus,

"Et quæ tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi?"

That but for this I consented to lack the dear use of thy presence,
Placing so many seas and so many mountains between us,
So many woods and rocks and so many murmuring rivers?
Ah! at the end at least to have touched his hand had been given me,
Closed his beautiful eyes in the placid hour of his dying,
Said to my friend, 'Farewell! in the world of the stars think of *me!*'
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Albeit also of *you* my memory never shall weary,
Swains of the Tuscan land, well-practised youths in the Muses,
Here there was grace and lightness; Tuscan *thou* too, my Damon,
Tracing the line of thy race from the ancient city of Lucca!
O, how mighty was I, when, stretched by the stream of the Arno
Murmuring cool, and where the poplar-grove softens the herbage,
Violets now I would pluck, and now the sprigs of the myrtle,
Hearing Menalcas and Lycidas vying the while in their ditties!
I also dared the challenge; nor, as I reckon, the hearers
Greatly disliked my trials—for yet the tokens are with me,
Rush-plaits, osier nets, and reed-stops of wax, which they gave me.
Ay more: two of the group have taught *our* name to their beech-woods—
Dati and also Francini, both of them notable shepherds,
As well in lore as in voice, and both of the blood of the Lydian.[1]
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Then too the pleasant dreams which the dewy moon woke within me,
Penning the young kids alone within their wattles at even!
Ah! how often I said, when already the black mould bewrapt thee,
'Now my Damon is singing, or spreading his snares for the leveret;
'Now he is weaving his twig-net for some of his various uses.'
What with my easy mind I hoped as then in the future
Lightly I seized with the wish and fancied as present before me.
'Ho, my friend!' I would cry: 'art busy? If nothing prevent thee,
'Shall we go rest somewhere in some talk-favouring covert,

[1] This is a distinct reference to the two written encomiums on Milton by the Florentines Dati and Francini, which he brought with him from Italy, and afterwards published. See Vol. I. pp. 732—734. I doubt not that the rush-plaits," "reed-stops of wax," &c., are poetical names for little presents actually received from his Florentine friends.

'Or to the waters of Colne, or the fields of Cassibelaunus?[1]
'There thou shalt run me over the list of thy herbs and their juices,
'Foxglove, and crocuses lowly, and hyacinth-leaf with its blossom,
'Marsh-plants also that grow for use in the art of the healer."[2]
Perish the plants each one, and perish all arts of the healer
Gotten of herbs, since nothing served they even their master!
I too—for strangely my pipe for some time past had been sounding
Strains of an unknown strength—'tis one day more than eleven since
Thus it befell—and perchance the reeds I was trying were new ones:
Bursting their fastenings, they flew apart when touched, and no farther
Dared to endure the grave sounds: I am haply in this over-boastful;
Yet I will tell out the tale. Ye woods, yield your honours and listen![3]
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
I have a theme of the Trojans cruising our southern headlands
Shaping to song, and the realm of Imogen, daughter of Pandras,
Brennus and Arvirach, dukes, and Bren's bold brother, Belinus;
Then the Armorican settlers under the laws of the Britons,
Ay, and the womb of Igraine fatally pregnant with Arthur,
Uther's son, whom he got disguised in Gorlois' likeness,
All by Merlin's craft.[4] O then, if life shall be spared me,
Thou shalt be hung, my pipe, far off on some brown dying pine-tree,
Much forgotten of me; or else your Latian music
Changed for the British war-screech! What then? For one to do all things,

[1] The Colne flows by Horton and Colnbrook: the fields of the old British king, Cassibelaunus, who opposed Cæsar, are in the neighbourhood of St. Alban's, Herts.

[2] The allusion is to Diodati's profession of medicine and his knowledge of botany. The reference in *Comus* to the "shepherd-lad" who is well skilled in every virtuous plant and healing herb, and to whose friendship the guardian spirit Thyrsis professes to owe his knowledge of the divine plant Hæmony, by the use of which the enchantment is broken, is supposed to be a compliment to the then living Diodati. Compare the passage, *Comus* 618—648.

[3] Observe, in the few preceding lines, the studied abruptness and hesitation with which Milton passes from the mention of Diodati's art and profession to the thought of his own poetic art and literary pursuits.

[4] In the British legends of Geoffrey of Monmouth and others, the mythical Brutus, before arriving in Britain with his Trojans, marries Imogen, daughter of the Grecian king Pandrasus; Brennus and Belinus are two legendary British princes of a much later age, sons of King Dunwallo Molmutius; Arvirach or Arviragus, son of Cunobeline, or Cymbeline, belongs to the time of the Roman conquest of Britain; the "Armorican settlers" are the Britons who remove to the French coast of Armorica to avoid the invading Saxons; Uther Pendragon, Igraine, Gorlois, Merlin, and Arthur are familiar names of the Arthurian romances.

One to hope all things, fits not! Prize sufficiently ample
Mine, and distinction great (unheard of ever thereafter
Though I should be, and inglorious, all through the world of the stranger),
If but yellow-haired Ouse shall read me, the drinker of Alan,
Humber, which whirls as it flows, and Trent's whole valley of orchards,
Thames, my own Thames, above all, and Tamar's western waters,
Tawny with ores, and where the white waves swinge the far Orkneys.
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
These I was keeping for thee, wrapt up in the rind of the laurel,
These and other things with them; and mainly the two cups which Manso—
Manso, not the last of Southern Italy's glories—
Gave me, a wonder of art, which himself, a wonder of nature,
Carved with a double design of his own well-skilled invention:
Here the Red Sea in the midst, and the odoriferous summer,
Araby's winding shores, and palm-trees sweating their balsams,
Mid which the bird divine, earth's marvel, the singular Phœnix,
Blazing cærulean-bright with wings of different colours,
Turns to behold Aurora surmounting the glassy-green billows:
Obverse is Heaven's vast vault and the great Olympian mansion.
Who would suppose it? Even here is Love and his cloud-painted quiver,
Arms glittering torch-lit, and arrows tipped with the fire-gem.
Nor is it meagre souls and the base-born breasts of the vulgar
Hence that he strikes; but, whirling round him his luminous splendours,
Always he scatters his darts right upwards sheer through the star-depths
Restless, and never deigns to level the pain of them downwards;
Whence the sacred minds and the forms of the gods ever-burning.[1]
"Thou too art there—not vain is the hope that I cherish, my Damon—
Thou too art certainly there; for whither besides could have vanished
Holy-sweet fancies like thine, and purity stainless as thine was?
No; not down in Lethe's darkness ought we to seek thee!
Tears are not fitting for thee, nor for thee will we weep any longer;

[1] I have no doubt that the whole of this passage is a poetical description of the designs on an actual pair of cups or chased goblets which Milton had received as a keepsake from Manso at Naples, and had brought home with him (Vol. I. p. 768). Where are they now?

Flow no more, ye tear-drops! Damon inhabits the ether;
Pure, he possesses the sky; he has spurned back the arc of the rainbow.
Housed mid the souls of the heroes, housed mid the gods everlasting,
Quaffs he the sacred chalices, drinks he the joys of the blessed,
Holy-mouthed himself. But O, Heaven's rights being now thine,
Be thou with me for my good, however I ought to invoke thee,
Whether still as our Damon, or whether of names thou wouldst rather
That of Diodati[1] now, by which deep-meaning divine name
All the celestials shall know thee, while shepherds shall still call thee Damon.
For that the rosy blush and the unstained strength of young manhood
Ever were dear to thee, and the marriage-joy never was tasted,
Lo! there are kept for thee the honours of those that were virgin!
Thou, with thy fair head crowned with the golden, glittering cincture,
Waving green branches of palm, and walking the gladsome procession,
Aye shalt act and repeat the endless heavenly nuptials,
There where song never fails and the lyre and the dance mix to madness,
There where the revel rages and Sion's thyrsus beats time."[2]

There is much in this remarkable poem over which one would willingly linger, for reasons both poetical and biographical, and over which the reader may like, for such reasons, to linger for himself. When he has lingered sufficiently, and is prepared to take leave of the poem, let him, before doing so, re-peruse and carefully note the particular passage, near the end, beginning with the words, "*I too—for strangely my pipe for some time past,*" and extending through the next twenty-four lines. This passage is pregnantly autobiographical. Taken in connexion with other passages in Milton's writings, it informs us as to the nature of his occupations and projects, not only at the moment

[1] The name *Diodati* ("God-given"), as is proved here and also in one of the Italian sonnets, was pronounced, as correctly it ought to be, *Diodăti*.

[2] The "thyrsus" was the ivy-wreathed spear carried by the revellers in the orgies of Bacchus. The close of the poem in such a strain is very daring.

when the poem was written (late in 1639), but also for a good many months afterwards.

A passage in Milton's treatise entitled *The Reason of Church Government*, published in January or February 1641-2, may be cited here as peculiarly relevant. It is a passage in which he refers to the good opinion uniformly pronounced on his earlier writings, whether in prose or verse, whether in English or Latin, by friends at home, and more especially to the favourable reception of some trifles of his in the private Academies of Italy, and the quite unusual encomiums with which he, an unknown Englishman, had been honoured during his tour by Italian scholars of note. A portion of the passage has already been before us in another connexion (Vol. I. p. 731). What interests us here is the statement of the passage respecting the result produced on Milton's mind by those friendly opinions and encomiums. That result was, he says, that about the time of his return to England he felt himself stirred with an ambition to undertake and execute some great literary work. "I began," he says, "thus far to assent both to them [his Italian critics] and "divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an "inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that "by labour and intent study (which I take to be my "portion in this life), joined with the strong propensity of "nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to "aftertimes as they should not willingly let it die."

That this thought had been stirring in him even while he was in Italy, and that he had then, moreover, felt a fascination towards one particular subject as fit for a great poem, is proved by what he had said in his Latin poem of compliment to Manso in Naples (see Vol. I. pp. 765—768). Speaking of the long celebrity of that nobleman as a patron of letters, and especially of his kindness to the two poets, Tasso and Marini, Milton had said :

"O were it mine to have granted me such a friend in the future,
One that had known so well to honour the sons of Apollo,
If I shall ever revoke into song the Kings of our Island,
Arthur yet from his underground hiding stirring to warfare,

Or shall tell of those that sat round him as Knights of his Table,
Great-souled heroes unmatched, and (O might the spirit but aid me!)
Shiver the Saxon phalanxes under the shock of the Britons!"

Here we have an intimation, written at Naples, of what, even were there nothing more to the same effect, would be an interesting fact in Milton's life. In looking forward to his future career in literature, he was then, it seems, chiefly possessed with some vague scheme of a heroic poem, the subject of which should be taken from the mythical or legendary history of Britain, as related, out of immemorial Welsh tradition, by Geoffrey of Monmouth and other chroniclers, and as amplified so wonderfully by the Norman Trouvères after the Conquest. It is the very subject to which, as by an irresistible transmitted instinct of the British imagination, our greatest English poets of every age have reverted. Chaucer had gone back into this old ground in one or two of his Tales; Spenser, after his peculiar manner, had made this enchanted ground his supreme poetical realm; Shakespeare and other dramatists had taken from it the stories of some of their most popular tragedies; and the unexhausted interest of the same mass of legend, the inherited national mythology of Britain, was to be attested in our own times by plans of Wordsworth, and by actual achievements of Tennyson. Milton, we have it here on record in his own words, had felt the same Arthurian fascination. In his first fancies as to the nature of that great intended work of his which, if he succeeded in it, posterity should not willingly let die, he had thought of nothing so likely as a poem the hero of which should be the British Arthur.

So much appears even from the poem to Manso. But now connect the passage in that poem, and the passage cited from *The Reason of Church Government*, with the passage in the *Epitaphium Damonis* to which we have requested attention. That passage shows that, after his return to England, Milton not only still retained his notion of a subject from British legendary history, but was revolving the subject deliberately with a view to its treatment. He was even preluding in it. Observe the peculiar manner in which he announces this. He

has been speaking of Diodati's profession—of his promising career in that profession, so suddenly cut short by a fate against which medical knowledge had been of no avail; and then, very abruptly, he breaks out, "I too—for strangely my pipe for some time past had been sounding. . ." The connexion of thought evidently is, "I too have a profession, if it may be so called; and what is the career that lies before me in it, now that my companion is gone?" He goes on to tell of something that he has in contemplation. He hesitates about telling it, and makes the hesitation apparent in the broken structure of the syntax and verse for a line or two. It is some time, he says, since "his pipe has been sounding strains of an unknown strength"—*i.e.* since he has been conscious of a seeking after some higher and greater theme for his Muse than he had yet ventured upon; and only eleven days before his then writing a strange thing had happened! He had actually made a beginning in the new direction! Only a beginning, however; for the "new reeds" he was trying burst asunder almost at the first touch, incapable all at once of the graver sounds that were expected from them! Still he had not given up his idea. Shall he tell what it is? Yes, though it may seem over-boastful, he will!

> 'I have a theme of the Trojans cruising our southern headlands
> Shaping to song," &c.

And so on he proceeds, through the next seventeen lines, explaining, in language the most precise, that he is busy over the scheme of a heroic poem of legendary British History, which, beginning with the arrival of the mythical Brutus and his Trojans in Albion, shall somehow include the whole cycle of British legend, as told by Geoffrey of Monmouth and others, down to the famous romance of Merlin and Arthur.

In addition to this, the main purport of the passage, there is an incidental piece of information. It is that the intended poem is to be in English, and that, indeed, he has now, for all the main purposes of poetry, taken leave of the Latin. Should he be spared for his great task, he says, then

his old pipe, which had served him so long, would be hung up, forgotten, on some aged pine-tree, or its wonted Latian music would have to be exchanged for the British war-screech. There might be cause for regret in having thus to part with an old instrument! What then? For one man to excel in all things was impossible, and he had made his choice! It would be for him a prize sufficiently great, and ample enough distinction, if, remaining altogether unread by the foreigner, he could have his own fellow-countrymen for his audience, and could think of himself as read, or to be read, along the streams and coasts of his own dear island, from the Channel to the Orkneys, and most of all where the Thames of his boyhood washed his native London. What have we here but an intimation that Milton, even in *his* comparatively late day, had debated with himself the question which Dante and other Italians had debated, and similarly decided, so long before? Whether was it better for a modern poet to continue the use of Latin for such higher works of genius as he might undertake, and so have the security, as it then appeared, of a learned European audience, or to adopt his own vernacular, and commit himself to its unascertained and narrower, but more heart-stirring, chances? That Milton had discussed this question we are authentically informed by himself, not only in the poem under notice, but also, as we shall afterwards find, in express prose.

So far, therefore, we are able to represent to ourselves distinctly enough the state of Milton's mind at that beginning of the winter of 1639–40, when, entering on the thirty-third year of his age, he found himself again in England. Having resumed the acquaintance of his English friends, and recovered from the first shock of Diodati's death, he was settling down to that life of purely intellectual labour—the life of a man of letters, as we should now call it—which he had selected as the most congenial possible for him in the condition of England at that time, and which the kindness of his father had facilitated.

That Milton, in settling himself for such a life, should leave Horton, and make London his head-quarters, will

not seem unnatural. He had had some such intention before going abroad, as appears from his letter to Diodati of the 23rd of September, 1637, in which he had spoken of looking out for chambers in one of the Inns of Court.[1] Now, however, there were certain family-circumstances which made an arrangement of the kind convenient.

The reader will remember Milton's only sister, Anne, who had been married in 1624 to Mr. Edward Phillips of the Crown Office, in Chancery, and on the death of whose first-born, an infant girl, in the severe winter of 1625-6, Milton, then a Cambridge undergraduate, had written the beautiful verses beginning "O fairest flower, no sooner blown than blasted." (Vol. I. pp. 143—145.) Since that year we have lost sight of her, except incidentally; but I am now in possession of information with which to make up the defect.

Her husband, Edward Phillips, had died in the autumn of 1631, after she had been united to him only seven years. The proof is in the following Will and its attached Probate, which I have found in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury:—

"In the name of God, Amen: The twelveth day of August, one thousand, six hundred, thirty-one, and in the seaventh yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord, King Charles, of England, &c., I, Edward Phillips, of London, gentleman, being weak in bodie, but of good and perfect memory, thanks bee to the Lord therefore, doe make this my last Will and Testament in manner and forme following, vizt.—First, I bequeath my soul into the hands of Allmightie God: my bodie I comitt unto the earth from whence it came, when it shall please God to make a separation between my bodie and my soule, hoping at the last day, through the meritts of Christ, myne onelie Savyour, it shall rise againe a glorious bodie and bee united unto my soule to live in Heaven eternally. And, for such worldly estate as the Lord, of his mercy, hath given mee, I bequeath as followeth:—Whereas there is an Inventory of such goods and chattells as were left by my deceased father with my mother for her use, my Will is that these goods and chattells after my mother's decease shall bee devyded to and amongst my brothers and sisters then living; and, if such goods and chattells shall not then come to the sume of fourescore pounds, being indifferently praysed, then I desire my loving wife Anne to make it upp soe much that

[1] Vol. I. p. 600.

my said brothers and sisters, being foure now lyving, may have twentie pounds apeece after my mother's decease. The rest and residue of all and singular my goods, chattells, debts, leases, household stuff, and all other things, I give and bequeeth unto my said loving wife Anne, whom I make executrix of this my last Will. In witnesse whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale, the day and yeare first above written.—Signed, sealed, delivered and published by the said EDWARD PHILLIPS, as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of——Jo: MILTON,—HENRIE ROTHWELL, servant to the said Jo: Milton."

The probate by the oath of administration taken by the executrix is dated the 12th of September, 1631; so that Phillips must have died in the course of the preceding month. He would seem to have been then still a comparatively young man, as his mother is mentioned as living. His widow, at all events, cannot have been more than nine-and-twenty years of age, and may have been but four-and-twenty.[1] Although no children are mentioned in the Will, she was left with two out of several born after the little "fairest flower" who had first died. These were two boys—the elder, called Edward after his father, born in August 1630, and therefore only a year old;[2] and the younger most probably not yet born, but who, when he did appear, was called John, after his grandfather and uncle.[3] It seems probable that it was his uncle, then about to leave Cambridge, that was more particularly his godfather.

During her husband's life the residence of Mrs. Phillips had been "in the Strand, near Charing Cross, in the Liberty of Westminster," conveniently near to the Crown Office. As she had received "a considerable dowry" from her father on her marriage,[4] and as the property left her by her husband seems to have amounted to a considerable increase upon that, it is not unlikely that she continued to live in this house with her two boys during the first years of her widowhood, though occasionally visiting her father and mother at Horton, where the infants (of a sickly stock apparently) would have the benefit of country air and of their grandmother's expe-

[1] See Vol. I. p. 27.
[2] Edward Phillips; Life of Milton, and Wood's Athen. IV. 760.
[3] Wood: *loc. cit.*
[4] Edward Phillips: Life of Milton.

rience as long as she lived. But Mrs. Phillips's widowhood was not to be of very long duration. A colleague in the Crown Office with her late husband, the "intimate friend" of that husband so long as he lived, and the successor of that husband after his death in the post of "Secondary" in the office—that is, of Deputy Clerk of the Crown under Thomas Willys, Esq. the chief clerk—was a certain Thomas Agar, said to have been educated (but I cannot ascertain on what authority) at St. Paul's School, about, or somewhat before, the time when Milton was there. This Thomas Agar, when he succeeded to his friend Phillips's post in the Crown Office, was himself a married man—his wife being a Mary Rugeley, daughter of Dr. Thomas Rugeley, a highly esteemed London physician of that day. This wife was certainly alive in 1633, by which time she had borne to Agar a daughter named Ann. But, at some subsequent date which I have not been able precisely to determine, she died, leaving Agar a widower. When he thought of marrying again, it seems to have been in every way a suitable arrangement that he and the widow of his friend Phillips should come together. So, at all events, it happened. Mrs. Phillips became Mrs. Agar, and had two daughters in this, her second marriage, one named Mary and the other Ann, half-sisters of her two little Phillipses by the first marriage.[1]

About the time of Milton's return from abroad, if I mistake not, Agar was his effective brother-in-law. Whatever may have been Phillips's personal merits, there was no loss to the family, in point of worldly respectability, in the substitution of Agar in his place. As the Clerk of the Crown's deputy, Agar, like Phillips before him, had to be in frequent attendance on the Lord Keeper, to administer oaths of allegiance to new Chancery officials, to see to the issue of royal proclamations and of commissions of the peace and the like,

[1] So far as the particulars in this paragraph are not gathered from Edward Phillips's own account in his Life of Milton, or from Wood's Lives of the two Phillipses in his *Athenæ* (IV. 760, *et seq.*), they are the fruit of very miscellaneous researches, which led me to (1) A pedigree of the Rugeley family, in a Heralds' visitation of London, 1633-4, given in Harl. MS. 1476, f. 152; and (2) a memoir of the physician Rugeley, in No. 2149 of the Ayscough MSS. which consists of memoirs of English physicians of the seventeenth century, by a Baldwin Harvey, who died 1676.

and also to the issue (though as yet Agar had had no taste of *this* peculiar duty of his office) of new Parliamentary writs. Much of his handwriting is still to be seen in what I believe is the oldest book of office-business that has been preserved in the Crown Office—a book of entries of administrations of oaths by the Clerk of the Crown or his deputy from 1639 onwards; and I have found his handwriting also in receipts that had been issued from the Crown Office to the King's printer for so many copies, delivered into the office, of such and such royal proclamations.[1] For convenient attendance upon these duties, Agar must have had his house in the same neighbourhood, of Westminster or the Strand, in which Phillips had resided. If his brother-in-law, the poet, was in the habit of looking in here, there was a chance of his extending his acquaintance by the addition of Agar's relatives by his first marriage, the Rugeleys, with whom I have proof that Agar still kept up a very close connexion. Among these was the old physician Rugeley himself, and his three sons, Thomas, Luke, and George, the eldest of whom had entered his father's profession with good hopes of success.[2]

Milton's resolution, in the winter of 1639-40, to take up his abode definitely in London, seems to have fitted in with his sister Mrs. Agar's views as to the education of her two little sons by her first marriage. "Soon after his return," says Edward, the elder of these Phillipses, in his life of his uncle, "he took him a lodging in St. Bride's Churchyard, at "the house of one Russel, a tailor, where he first undertook "the education and instruction of his sister's two sons, the "younger whereof had been wholly committed to his charge "and care." This seems to mean that, while, by the arrange-

[1] By the courtesy of the authorities of the Crown Office I had access to the records there, to search for traces of Milton's brothers-in-law. The earliest office-book being, as I have stated in the text, one commencing with the year 1639, I could find no traces of Phillips's hand; but in that book Agar's appeared sufficiently. In the British Museum also (Add. MSS. 5756, ff. 128 *et seq.*), I found at least fifteen specimens of Agar's handwriting in the form of such Crown-Office receipts as are mentioned in the text.

[2] The proof of the continued connexion of Agar with the Rugeleys is from Agar's will, found by me at Doctors' Commons, and which need not at present be cited for more than the fact that so late as 1671 very affectionate mention is made by Agar of one of the Rugeleys as his life-long friend. The elder physician Rugeley died June 21, 1656, and was buried in St. Botolph's Church, Aldersgate (MS. Ayscough, 2149).

ment of their mother and stepfather, both the boys were to receive lessons from their uncle in his lodging in St. Bride's Churchyard, the younger, who was his godson or nameson, was either to stay with him entirely, or, in some particular way, to be under his complete control and tuition. The little Johnny Phillips, so made over to his uncle's care, was only eight years of age, and his brother Edward, who was to share his lessons, was not much over nine. For a bachelor, living in lodgings, the arrangement might not seem the most convenient; but, whether for family reasons or on personal grounds, Milton appears to have made no difficulty about it. Leaving his father, with Christopher and Mrs. Christopher, at Horton, he took up his quarters, for a time at least, in the tailor's house in St. Bride's Churchyard. While Phillips gives the locality simply as "St. Bride's Churchyard," subsequent biographers have generally called it "St. Bride's Churchyard, Fleet Street." But Wood says, "St. Bride's Churchyard, *near* Fleet Street;" and in the old maps I find the site of at least a portion of St. Bride's Churchyard marked as in that part of the present Farringdon Street which lies between Fleet Lane and Stonecutters' Street. Near the foot of the present Fleet Street, at all events, in rather close vicinity to Fleet Ditch, but with the river on one hand, and in view of Ludgate Hill, old St. Paul's, and the whole City region of his native Bread Street, did Milton, in the winter of 1639-40, enter upon a new period of his life.

The teaching of the two boys cannot have been so engrossing an occupation but that there was ample time for those studies and literary preparations of Milton's own to which he had resolved now strenuously to betake himself. With a view to these studies and preparations, he had his books, though not all of them, brought to his new lodging, and here also he surrounded himself once more with his private papers and manuscripts. Among the manuscripts on which he would set most value were those which contained the rough drafts or copies of his own compositions. One or two of them had been published, and were so far safe—in

especial, the very best of them, *Comus* and *Lycidas;* and copies of some of the others, doubtless, had been given to friends in manuscript. Still it was not unimportant that his own copies or original drafts should be carefully preserved. We have already had evidence that Milton proceeded on this principle, and, however much he erased or altered, rarely or never destroyed anything he had once written. In St. Bride's Churchyard, accordingly, we may assume that he had the copies or drafts by him, in his own hand, of all that he had then written. Not, perhaps, in a shapely condition in one fairly-transcribed book, but in various books as they had been originally penned, or in loose sheets and papers. We have the means of knowing, however, that there was *one* book, or continuous set of sheets of the same folio-sized paper, of which Milton made particular use about this time. This was a book, or set of sheets, already partly occupied with the original drafts of four of the little pieces of his Cambridge period (the Song *At a Solemn Musick*, the "Letter to a Friend" and accompanying *Sonnet on being arrived to the age of Twenty-three*, and the verses *On Time* and *Upon the Circumcision*), and with the original more important drafts of the *Arcades*, *Comus*, and *Lycidas*. It was of a blank space in this book, immediately following the draft of *Lycidas*, or on some vacant sheets of this set, afterwards numbered and attached to the others in that order, that he proceeded to avail himself for the purpose of such new scribblings as he first found occasion for after he had settled in his new lodging. The proof remains in the scribblings themselves. They form part of that volume of Milton's manuscripts which has for a hundred and thirty years been one of the most precious treasures of the Library of Trinity College in Cambridge.[1] An examination of the book, and of seven of

[1] This volume, kept under a glass case as one of the most valuable curiosities of the Library, is a thin folio, bound in red morocco and inscribed on the back in gilt letters "*Poemata Miltoni Manuscripta*" ("Manuscript Poems of Milton"). Inside is pasted this account of the volume: "*Lib. Trin. Coll. Cantab. : Membra hæc eruditissimi et pæne divini poetæ, olim miserè disjecta et passim sparsa, postea verò fortuito inventa et in unum denuo collecta a Carolo Mason, ejus Coll. socio, et inter Miscellanea reposita, deinceps eâ quâ decuit religione servari voluit Thomas Clarke, nuperrimè hujusce Collegii, nunc verò Medii Templi, Londini, socius :* 1736" ("Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: These fragments of the most learned and all but divine poet,

its pages in particular, furnishes us with the means of far more exact information than was to be hoped for respecting the course of Milton's literary plans and studies, not only after his first removal to St. Bride's Churchyard, but also, as I believe, during the whole term of his residence there, and for some time beyond.

Milton, it appears, either found reason very soon to abandon his scheme of a heroic poem of legendary British History, or was not so pledged to that scheme but that he would, first of all, let his mind range for a time among other schemes, with a view at last to the discovery of the truly splendid one to which his heart would leap. A subject of British History still seemed to him to satisfy most of the conditions; but might there not be grander scope, for one whose notions of the true end and duty of all literature were so high and solemn as his were, in some Scriptural subject? Again, the epic form was a noble one, and precedents in that form were among the noblest; but what if the dramatic, or some combination of the dramatic and the lyric, might be the fittest? What we see in the seven pages of the Cambridge

formerly miserably separated and scattered about, but afterwards accidentally found and at length collected into one by Charles Mason, Fellow of that College, and placed among its Miscellanies, Thomas Clarke, very lately Fellow of the College, but now of the Middle Temple, London, desired to have preserved with the respect due to them: 1736.") The Charles Mason, who thus first took the pains to collect the fragments, graduated B.A. in 1722, M.A. in 1726, and was afterwards Doctor of Divinity and Woodwardian Professor of Geology in the University of Cambridge; the Thomas Clarke, to whom belongs the farther honour of having seen them properly bound and taken care of, took his B.A. degree in 1724, his M.A. in 1728, and was afterwards Knight, and Master of the Rolls. But where did Mason find the fragments? He found them already in Trinity College, lying scattered among MSS. which had been given to the College, many years before, by a Sir Henry Newton Puckering, Baronet. This person, whose original name had been Henry Newton, was the son of Sir Adam Newton, a man of some distinction in the reign of James I. and tutor to Prince Henry. He was born about 1617, was educated at Trinity College, assumed the name of Puckering about the middle of the seventeenth century (after his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Puckering of Warwickshire, son of Lord Keeper Puckering), and was known, during the latter half of the century, as a studious and ingenious gentleman. He retained so strong affection for the College in which he had been educated, and where a son of his who predeceased him had also studied, that, "in his eightieth year," according to Warton, "he desired to be readmitted, and, residing there a whole summer, presented to the New Library, just then finished, his own collection of books, amounting to near 4,000 volumes." This must have been about 1697, or three years before his death, which occurred Jan. 22, 1700, in the 83rd year of his age (see his epitaph in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, by Thomas, I. 445).

MSS. to which we have referred is precisely this interesting phenomenon of Milton discussing the best form for his great work, and seeking about for a subject. Or, rather, it seems to have been already determined by him that the *form* should be that of a Tragedy with a chorus, after the ancient Greek model, and the hesitation seems to have been mainly as to the *subject* for such a Tragedy. Whether should it be from Scripture, or should it be from British History; and, on either supposition, which out of all that might be found should be selected?

The method adopted by Milton in these circumstances is very characteristic. He undertakes a course of continuous re-reading in the historical parts of the Bible, with one or two of the most learned commentators at hand for consultation; and at the same time he undertakes a continuous perusal of the History of Britain prior to the Conquest, as told in Ralph Holinshed's Chronicles (1st edit., 2 vols. fol., 1577; 2nd edit. 2 vols. fol., 1586-7), and Speed's Chronicle (1st edit. fol., 1611; 2nd edit. 1623; 3rd edit. 1632), but with reference at successive points to the older Latin writers, Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and William of Malmesbury. He reads rapidly, getting over a considerable portion every day; and steadily, as he reads, he jots down the subjects that occur to him, sometimes in the form of brief notes or mere headings, but at other times, when the subjects hit upon arrest him by their superior capability, in the form of detailed sketches or draft-plans. In this manner he goes on—sometimes turning back or setting down an afterthought—till he has filled seven pages with a list of about ninety-nine subjects in all, of which sixty-one are Scriptural, and thirty-eight are from British History. The following is a complete digest of this list, in the most intelligible form I have been able to devise, after much inspection of the closely-written and much-corrected original, and with lithographed fac-similes of that original before me.[1] Every scrap of Milton's own penning

[1] These interesting fac-similes may be seen in the gorgeous volume, entitled "Ramblings in the Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton," of which a small number of copies were issued in 1861 by the late Samuel Leigh Sotheby. Mr. Sotheby, in addition to other specimens of Milton's autograph, from

is preserved in the digest, and is placed within inverted commas; and all such matter follows, under each heading, in the same order as in the original, save that subjects or schemes that occurred to Milton as afterthoughts, and were jotted down out of their proper chronological places, are inserted in these places and distinguished by asterisks. Whatever is without inverted commas, or is inserted within brackets, is explanatory.

I. SCRIPTURAL SUBJECTS.

I. From the Old Testament.

1. *Paradise Lost.* Of this subject there are four Drafts—three of them continuous, and filling the first page of the Jottings (numbered 35 in the volume), where they are written column-wise; and the fourth occurring as an afterthought on the 6th page of the Jottings (numbered 40 in the volume).

(1) The first Draft consists merely of a list of *dramatis personæ*, as follows:—"The Persons: Michael; Heavenly Love; Chorus of "Angels; Lucifer; Adam [and] Eve, with the Serpent; Con-"science; Death; Labour, Sickness, Discontent, Ignorance, with "others, [as] Mutes; Faith; Hope; Charity."

(2) The foregoing Draft having been erased by two cross strokes of the pen, a second Draft, written parallel with it, takes its place as follows:—"The Persons: Michael or Moses [the words 'Michael or' are then deleted, so as to leave 'Moses' as the preferable Person for the Drama]; Justice, Mercy, Wisdom; Heavenly Love; "The Evening Star Hesperus; Chorus of Angels; Lucifer; Adam; "Eve; Conscience; Labour, Sickness, Discontent, Ignorance, Fear, "Death, [as] Mutes; Faith; Hope; Charity."

(3) The foregoing having also been crossed out with the pen, there follows a third Draft, which is more complete and is left standing, as follows:—"*Paradise Lost.* The Persons:—Moses "προλογίξει [prologuises], recounting how he assumed his true body; "that it corrupts not, because of his [being] with God in the "Mount; declares the like of Enoch and Eliah, besides the purity "of the place—that certain pure winds, dews, and clouds preserve "it from corruption; whence exhorts to the sight of God; tells "they cannot see Adam in the state of innocence, by reason of their "sin.—[Act I.] Justice, Mercy, Wisdom, debating what should

the Cambridge volume and other sources, gives all the seven pages of Jottings in fac-simile. It is a pity he did not simply fac-simile the whole Cambridge volume while he was about it, and retrench the text of his book in favour of that more mechanical reproduction.

" become of Man if he fall. Chorus of Angels sing a hymn of " the Creation.—Act II.: Heavenly Love; Evening Star; Chorus " sing the marriage-song, and describe Paradise.—Act III.: Luci- " fer, contriving Adam's ruin; Chorus fears for Adam and relates " Lucifer's rebellion and fall.—Act IV.: Adam, Eve, fallen; Con- " science cites them to God's examination; Chorus bewails and " tells the good Adam hath lost.—Act V.: Adam and Eve, driven " out of Paradise, presented by an Angel with Labour, Grief, " Hatred, Envy, War, Famine, Pestilence, Sickness, Discontent, " Ignorance, Fear, [as] Mutes, to whom he gives their names; like- " wise Winter, Heat, Tempest, &c.; Death, entered into the world; " Faith, Hope, Charity comfort him and instruct him [Adam]; " Chorus briefly concludes."

(4).* The fourth Draft, separated from the foregoing by several pages, is as follows :—"*Adam Unparadised:* The Angel Gabriel, " either descending or entering—showing, since this globe was " created, his frequency as much on Earth as in Heaven—describes " Paradise. Next the Chorus, showing the reason of his coming " —to keep his watch, after Lucifer's rebellion, by command from " God; and withal expressing his desire to see and know more " concerning this excellent new creature, Man. The Angel " Gabriel, as by his name signifying a Prince of Power, tracing " Paradise with a more free office, passes by the station of the " Chorus, and, desired by them, relates what he knew of Man, as " the creation of Eve, with their love and marriage.—After this, " Lucifer appears after his overthrow, bemoans himself, seeks " revenge on Man. The Chorus prepare resistance at his first " approach. At last, after discourse of enmity on either side, he " departs; whereat the Chorus sings of the battle and victory in " Heaven against him and his accomplices, as before, after the first " Act, was sung a hymn of the Creation.—Here again may appear " Lucifer, relating and insulting in what he had done to the " destruction of Man. Man next and Eve, having by this time " been seduced by the Serpent, appears confusedly, covered with " leaves. Conscience, in a shape, accuses him. Justice cites him " to the place whither Jehovah called for him. In the mean- " while the Chorus entertains the stage, and is informed by some " Angel the manner of his Fall.—Here the Chorus bewails " Adam's fall. Adam then, and Eve, return and accuse one another; " but especially Adam lays the blame to his wife—is stubborn in " his offence. Justice appears, reasons with him, convinces him. " The Chorus admonisheth Adam, and bids him beware by Lucifer's " example of impenitence.—The Angel is sent to banish them out " of Paradise; but, before, causes to pass before his eyes, in shapes, " a masque of all the evils of this life and world. He is humbled, " relents, despairs. At last appears Mercy, comforts him, promises " the Messiah; then calls in Faith, Hope, and Charity; instructs " him. He repents, gives God the glory, submits to his penalty.

"The Chorus briefly concludes.——Compare this with the former "Draft."

2. "*Adam in Banishment*"
3. "*The Flood*"
4. "*Abram in Egypt*"

These three subjects are jotted down together in a little space in the same page with the first three Drafts of *Paradise Lost*, under the heading "Other Tragedies." Subject 3 is re-entered in the next page as "*The Deluge.*"

5.* "*Abram from Morea, or Isaac Redeemed.*" This subject appears as an afterthought, on the 5th page of the Jottings (numbered 39 in the volume), where this scheme accompanies the title: "The œconomy may be thus:—The fifth or sixth day after "Abraham's departure, Eleazer, Abram's steward, first alone, and "then with the Chorus, discourse of Abraham's strange voyage, "their mistress's sorrow and perplexity, accompanied with fright- "ful dreams; and tell the manner of his rising by night, taking "his servants and his son with him. Next may come forth Sarah "herself after the Chorus, or Ismael, or Agar. Next, some "shepherd or company of merchants, passing through the Mount "in the time that Abram was in the mid-work, relate to Sarah "what they saw: hence lamentations, fears, wonders. The matter "in the meanwhile divulged, Aner or Eshcol or Mamre, Abram's "confederates, come to the house of Abram to be more certain, or to "bring news, in the meanwhile discoursing, as the world would, of "such an action divers ways—bewailing the fate of so noble a man "fallen from his reputation, either through divine justice, or superstition, or coveting to do some notable act through zeal. At length a "servant, sent from Abram, relates the truth; and, last, he himself "comes in with a great train of Melchizedek, whose shepherds, being "secret eye-witnesses of all passages, had related to their master, "and he conducted his friend Abraham home with joy."

6. "*Sodom.*" This mere heading is inserted in its order at the top of page 2 of the Jottings, but the subject is re-entered on subsequent pages as follows:—*"*Sodom* (the title *Cupid's Funeral "Pile* [or] *Sodom Burning*). The scene before Lot's Gate. The "Chorus consists of Lot's shepherds come to the city about some "affairs. [They] await in the evening their master's return from "his evening walk round toward the city-gates. He brings with "him two young men, or youths, of noble form; after likely dis- "courses, prepares for their entertainment. By then supper is "ended, the gallantry of the town pass by in procession with music "and song to the temple of Venus Urania, or Peor; and, under- "standing of two noble strangers arrived, they send two of their "choicest youth, with the priest, to invite them to their city- "solemnities, it being an honour that their city had decreed to all "fair personages, as being sacred to their goddess. The Angels, "being asked by the priest whence they are, say they are of

"Salem: the priest inveighs against the strict reign of Melchi-
"zedek. Lot, that knows their drift, answers thwartly at last.
"Of which notice given to the whole assembly, they hasten thither,
"tax him of presumption, singularity, breach of city-customs; in
"fine, offer violence. The Chorus of shepherds prepare resistance
"in their master's defence, calling the rest of the serviture, but,
"[they] being forced to give back, the Angels open the door, rescue
"Lot, discover themselves, warn him to gather his friends and
"sons-in-law out of the city. He goes, and returns as having met
"with some incredulous. Some other friend, or son-in-law, out of
"the way when Lot came to his house, overtakes him to know
"his business. Here is disputed of incredulity of divine judgments,
"and such like matter. At last is described the parting from the
"city. The Chorus depart with their master. The Angels do the
"deed with all dreadful execution. The King and Nobles of the
"city may come forth and serve to set out the terror—a Chorus of
"Angels concluding, and the Angels relating the event of Lot's
"journey, and of his wife. The first Chorus, beginning, may
"relate the course of the city—each evening every one with
"mistress, or Ganymede, gitterning along the streets, or solacing on
"the banks of Jordan, or down the stream. At the priest's inviting
"the Angels to the solemnity, the Angels, pitying their beauty,
"may dispute of love, and how it differs from lust, seeking to win
"them. In the last scene, to the King and nobles, when the fierce
"thunders begin aloft, the Angel appears all girt with flames,
"which he saith are the flames of true love, and tells the King,
"who falls down with terror, his just suffering, as also Athane's
"(*i.e.* Gener, Lot's son-in-law), for despising the continual admo-
"nitions of Lot. Then, calling to the thunders, lightning, and
"fires, he bids them hear the call and command of God to come
"and destroy a godless nation. He brings them down, with some
"short warning to other nations to take heed." [The impression, inevitable at one or two points in this scheme, that Milton was thinking, analogically, of London and England, is strengthened by the fact that the last four sentences are additions, crammed in, after the rest had been written, and in a smaller hand.]

7. "*Dinah. Vide* Euseb. Præparat. Evang. l. 9, c. 22. The
"Persons: Dinah; Debora, Rebecca's Nurse; Jacob; Simeon;
"Levi; Hamor; Sechem; Counsellors 2; Nuncius; Chorus."

8. "*Thamar Cuephorusa* [i.e. *Thamar Pregnant*]; where Judah
"is found to have been the author of that crime which he con-
"demned in Thamar. Thamar excused in what she attempted."

9. "*The Golden Calf, or the Massacre in Horeb.*"

10. "*The Quails:* Numb. xi."

11. "*The Murmurers:* Numb. xiv."

12. "*Corah, Dathan, &c.:* Numb. xvi. xvii."

13. "*Moabitides:* Numb. xxv." This subject, so occurring as a mere heading in its natural order, is repeated on a subsequent page

thus:—* "*Moabitides or Phineas:* The epitasis whereof may lie in " the contention first between the father of Zimri and Eleazer " whether he [ought] to have slain his son without law—next, the " ambassadors of the Moabites expostulating about Cosbi, a stranger " and a noblewoman, slain by Phineas. It may be argued about " reformation and punishment illegal, and, as it were, by tumult. " After all arguments driven home, then the word of the Lord may " be brought, acquitting and approving Phineas."

14. " *Achan:* Josua vii. and viii."

15. " *Josuah in Gibeon:* Josu. x."

16. " *Gideon Idoloclastes* [i.e. *Gideon the Idol-breaker*]: Judg. " vi. vii."

17. " *Gideon Pursuing:* Judg. viii."

18. " *Abimelech the Usurper:* Judg. ix."

19. " *Samson Pursophorus* or *Hybristes* [*i.e.* Samson the Fire- " brand-bringer or Violent], or *Samson Marrying*, or *Ramath-* " *Lechi:* Judg. xv."

20. " *Dagonalia:* Judg. xvi."

21. " *Comazontes*, or *the Benjaminites*, or *the Rioters:* Judg. xix. " xx. xxi."

22. " *Theristria:* A Pastoral out of Ruth."

23. " *Eliadæ, Hophni and Phinehas:* 1 Sam. i. ii. iii. iv. Begin- " ning with the first overthrow of Israel by the Philistines, inter- " laced with Samuel's vision concerning Eli's family."

24. " *Jonathan Rescued:* 1 Sam. i. 14."

25. " *Doeg Slandering:* 1 Sam. xxii."

26. " *The Sheep-shearers in Carmel:* A Pastoral: 1 Sam. xxv."

27. " *Saul in Gilboa:* 1 Sam. xxviii. xxx."

28. " *David Revolted:* 1 Sam., from the xxvii. chap. to the xxxi."

29. " *David Adulterous:* 2 Sam. xi. xii."

30. " *Tamar:* 2 Sam. xiii."

31. " *Achitophel:* 2 Sam. xv. xvi. xvii. xviii."

32. " *Adoniah:* 1 Kings ii."

33. " *Solomon Gynæcocratumenos*, or *Idolomargus;* or *Thysia-* " *zusæ* [i.e. *Solomon Women-governed*, or *Idol-mad;* or *the Women-* " *sacrificers*], 1 Kings xi."

34. " *Rehoboam:* 1 Kings xii., where is disputed of a politic " Religion."

35. " *Abias Thersæus:* 1 Kings xiv. The Queen, after much " dispute, as the last refuge, sent to the prophet Ahias at Shilo; " receives the message. The epitasis in that she, hearing the child " shall die as she comes home, refuses to return, thinking thereby " to elude the oracle. The former part is spent in bringing the " sick prince forth, as it were desirous to shift his chamber and " couch, as dying men use—his father telling him what sacrifice he " had sent for his health to Bethel and Dan. His fearlessness of " death, and putting his father in mind to set to Ahiah. The Chorus " of the Elders of Israel bemoaning his virtues bereft them, and at

" another time wondering why Jeroboam, being bad himself,
" should so grieve for his son that was good, &c."

36. " *Imbres*, or *the Showers :* 1 Kings xviii. xix."

37. " *Naboth* συκοφαντούμενος [*i.e.* falsely-accused] : 1 Kings
" xxi."

38. " *Ahab :* 1 Kings xxii. Beginning at the synod of false
" Prophets ; ending with relation of Ahab's death. His body
" brought ; Zedekiah slain by Ahab's friends for his seducing.
" (See Lavater, 2 Chron. xviii.)"

39. " *Elias in the Mount :* 2 Kings i. Ὀρειβάτης [the Mountain-
" Ranger] ; or, better, Elias Polemistes [the Warrior]."

40. " *Elisæus Hydrochoos* [Elisha, the Water-pourer] : 2 Kings
" iii : *Hydrophantes* [Water-Prophet] : *Aquator.*"

41. " *Elisæus Adorodocetos* [the Incorruptible]."

42. " *Elisæus Menutes* [the Informer], sive *in Dothaimis* [in
" Dothan] : 2 Kings vi."

43. " *Samaria Liberata* [Samaria Delivered] : 2 Kings vii."

44. " *Achabæi Cunoborωmani* [devoured by dogs] : 2 Kings ix.
" The scene Jesrael. Beginning from the watchman's discovery of
" Jehu, till he go out. In the meanwhile message of things passing
" brought to Jezebel, &c. Lastly, the 70 heads of Ahab's sons
" brought in, and message brought of Ahaziah's brethren slain on
" the way. Chap. x."

45. " *Jehu Belicola* [Jehu worshipping Baal] : 2 Kings x."

46. " *Athaliah :* 2 Kings xi."

47. " *Amaziah Doryalotus* [Captive of the Spear] : 2 Kings xiv. ;
" 2 Chron. xxv."

48. " *Hezechias* πολιορκούμενος : *Hezekiah Besieged :* 2 Kings
" xviii. xix. The wicked hypocrisy of Shebna, spoken of in the
" xi., or thereabout, of Isaiah, and the commendation of Eliakim
" will afford ἀφορμὰς λόγου [occasions for discourse], together with a
" faction that sought help from Egypt."

49. " *Josiah* Αἰαζόμενος [Lamented] : 2 Kings xxiii."

50. " *Zedekiah* νεοτερίζων [Revolutionising] : 2 Kings ; but the
" story is larger in Jeremiah."

51. " *Salymωn Halosis* [the Taking of Jerusalem] : Which may
" begin from a message brought to the city of the judgment upon
" Zedekiah and his children in Ribla ; and so seconded with the
" burning and destruction of City and Temple by Nebuzaradan,
" lamented by Jeremiah."

52. " *Asa* or *Æthiopes :* 2 Chron. xiv. ; with the deposing of his
" mother and burning her idol."

53. " *Dura : The Three Children :* Dan. iii."

II. From the New Testament.

1. " *Baptistes.* The Scene, the Court. Beginning from the
" morning of Herod's birthday. Herod, by some counsellor (or else
" the Queen may plot, under pretence of begging for his liberty,

" to seek to draw him into a snare by his freedom of speech), " persuaded on his birthday to release John Baptist, purposes it. " Causes him to be sent for to the Court from prison. The Queen " hears of it; takes occasion to pass where he is on purpose, under " pretence of reconciling to him, or seeking to draw a kind retrac- " tion from him of the censure on the marriage—to which end she " sends a courtier before, to sound whether he might be persuaded " to mitigate his sentence; which not finding, she herself craftily " assays, and on his constancy founds an accusation to Herod of a " contumacious affront on such a day before many peers. Prepares " the King to some passion, and, at last, by her daughter's dancing, " effects it. There may prologize the spirit of Philip, Herod's " brother. It may also be thought that Herod had well bedewed " himself with wine, which made him grant the easier to his wife's " daughter. Some of his [John's] disciples also, as to congratulate " his liberty, may be brought in; with whom [John], after certain " command of his death, many compassionating words of his dis- " ciples, bewailing his youth cut off in his glorious course—he " telling them his work is done, and asking them to follow Christ, " his master."

2. " *Christ Born.*"

3. " *Herod Massacring,* or *Rachel Weeping:* Matth. ii."

4. *" *Christus Patiens.* The scene in the Garden, beginning " from the coming thither till Judas betrays, and the officers lead " him away. The rest by Message and Chorus. His agony may " receive noble expressions."

5. " *Christ Bound.*"

6. " *Christ Crucified.*"

7. " *Christ Risen.*"

8. " *Lazarus:* John xi."

II. SUBJECTS FROM BRITISH HISTORY.

I. " British Tragedies." [1]

" 1. *Venutius, husband to Cartismandua.*" A.D. 51.—" *The Cloister* " *King Constans set up by Vortiger.*" A.D. 408.[2]

" 2. *Vortimer poisoned by Roëna.*" A.D. 475.

" 3. *Vortiger immured.—Vortiger, marrying Roëna* (see Speed), " *reproved by Vodin, Archbishop of London* (Speed.)—*The Massacre* " *of the Britons by Hengist in their cups at Salisbury Plain* " (Malmesbury)." A.D. 450-476.

[1] The numbering in this series is Milton's own. I have added the dates of the transactions that form the subjects.

[2] Not to disturb the numbering, I have kept the two subjects of No. 1 together; though, from the large interval of time between the two, I suspect that the first subject was an afterthought, intended as separate, but entered beside the other.

"4. *Sigher, of the East Saxons, revolted from the faith, and "reclaimed by Jarumang.*" A.D. 665.

"5. *Ethelbert, of the East Angles, slain by Offa the Mercian King.* "See Holinshed l. vi. c. 5; Speed, in the Life of Offa and "Ethelbert." A.D. 792.

"6. *Sebert slain by Penda, after he had left his kingdom.* See "Holinshed p. 116." A.D. 644.

"7. *Wulfer slaying his two sons for being Christians.*" A.D. 659.

"8. *Osbert of Northumberland slain for ravishing the wife of "Bernbocard; and the Danes brought in.* See Stow, Holinshed "l. vi. c. 12, and especially Speed l. viii. c. 2." A.D. 867.

"9. *Edmond, last King of the East Angles, martyred by Hinguar "the Dane.* See Speed l. viii. c. 2." A.D. 870.

"10. *Sigebert, tyrant of the West Saxons, slain by a swine-herd.*" A.D. 755.

"11. *Edmund, brother of Athelstan, slain by a thief at his own "table* (Malmesb.)." A.D. 948.

"12. *Edwin, son to Edward the younger, for lust deprived of his "kingdom.* Or rather by a faction of monks, whom he hated, "together [with] the impostor Dunstan." A.D. 956.

"13. *Edward, son of Edgar, murdered by his stepmother;* to "which may be inserted the tragedy stirred up betwixt the monks "and priests about marriage." A.D. 978.

"14. *Etheldred, son of Edgar, a slothful King: the ruin of his "land by the Danes.*" A.D. 979-1016.

"15. *Ceaulin, King of West Saxons, for tyranny deposed, and "banished, and dying.*" A.D. 594.

"16. *The slaughter of the monks of Bangor by Edelfride,* stirred "up, as is said, by Ethelbert, and he by Austin the monk, because "the Britons would not receive the rites of the Roman Church. "See Beda, Geoffrey Monmouth, and Holinshed p. 104. Which "must begin with the convocation of British clergy by Austin, to "determine superfluous points which by them were refused." A.D. 602-607.

"17. *Edwin, by vision, promised the kingdom of Northumberland "on promise of his conversion, and therein established by Rodoald, "King of East Angles.*" A.D. 617.

"18. *Oswin, King of Deira, slain by Oswy, his friend, King of "Bernicia, through instigation of flatterers.* See Holinshed p. "115." A.D. 651.

"19. *Sigibert of the East Angles* [East Saxons], *keeping company "with a person excommunicated, slain by the same man in his house;* "according as the Bishop Cedda had foretold." A.D. 655.

"20. *Egfride, King of the Northumbers, slain in battle against "the Picts;* having before wasted Ireland, and made war for no "reason on men that ever loved the English" [may we not descry here an allusion to another English King engaged in a war against the same Scottish people at the very time when Milton was

writing this jotting ?] ; "forewarned also by Cuthbert not to fight "with the Picts." A.D. 684.

"21. *Kinewulf, King of the West Saxons, slain by Kineard, in the "house of one of his concubines.*" A.D. 784.

"22. *Gunthildis, the Danish lady, with her husband Palingus, "and her son, slain by appointment of the traitor Edrick in King "Ethelred's days.* Holinshed l. vii. c. 5 ; together with the "massacre of the Danes at Oxford. Speed." A.D. 1002.

"23. *Brightrick, of West Saxons, poisoned by his wife Ethelburga, "Offa's daughter ;* who dies miserably also in beggary, after adul- "tery in a nunnery. Speed in Brithric." A.D. 802.

"24. *Alfred, in disguise of a minstrel, discovers the Danes' negli- "gence ; sets on with a mighty slaughter.* About the same time the "Devonshire men rout Hubba and slay him.—A Heroical Poem "may be founded somewhere in Alfred's reign, especially at his "issuing out of Edelingsey on the Danes ; whose actions are well "like those of Ulysses." A.D. 878.

"25. *Athelstan exposing his brother Edwin to the sea, and repent- "ing.*" A.D. 933.

"26. *Edgar slaying Ethelwold for false play in wooing.* Wherein "may be set out his pride [and] lust, which he thought to cloak "by favouring monks and building monasteries ; also the disposition "of woman, in Elfrida toward her husband." A.D. 970.

"27. *Swane besieging London and Ethelred repulsed by the "Londoners.*" A.D. 1013.

"28. *Harold slain in battle by William the Norman.* The first "scene may begin with the ghost of Alfred, the second son of "Ethelred, slain in cruel manner by Godwin, Harold's father, "his mother and brother dissuading him." A.D. 1066.

"29. *Edmund Ironside defeating the Danes at Brentford ;* with "his combat with Canute." A.D. 1016.

"30. *Edmund Ironside murdered by Edrick the traitor and "revenged by Canute.*" A.D. 1017.

"31. *Gunilda, daughter to King Canute and Emma, wife to "Henry, the third Emperor, accused of unchastity, is defended by her "English page in combat against a giant-like adversary, who by "him, at two blows, is slain, &c.* Speed, in the Life of Canute." About 1043.

"32. *Hardiknute dying in his cups :* an example to riot." A.D. 1041.

"33. *Edward Confessor's divorcing and imprisoning his noble "wife, Editha, Godwin's daughter.* Wherein is shewed his over- "affection to strangers, the cause of Godwin's insurrection "(wherein Godwin's forbearance of battle praised and the English "moderation on both sides magnified). His slackness to redress "the corrupt clergy, and superstitious pretence of chastity."

II. "Scotch Stories, or rather British of the North Parts."

1. "*Athirco slain by Natholochus, whose daughters he had "ravished; and this Natholochus usurping thereon the kingdom, "seeks to slay the kindred of Athirco, who scape him and conspire "against him.* He sends to a witch to know the event. The "witch tells the messenger that he is the man shall slay Na- "tholochus. He detests it; but, in his journey home, changes "his mind, and performs it, &c. (Scotch Chron. Englished, pp. "68-69)."[1] Athirco, the 29th in the legendary list of Scottish Kings, has his reign dated A.D. 231-242.

2. "*Duff and Donwald:* A strange story of witchcraft and "murder discovered and revenged (Scotch Story p. 149, &c.)." Duff or Duffus is the 78th of the Scottish Kings, A.D. 961-966.

3. "*Hay the Ploughman.* Who, with his two sons that were "at plough, running to the battle that was between the Scots and "Danes in the next field, stayed the flight of his countrymen, re- "newed the battle, and caused the victory, &c. (Scotch Story "p. 155)." The battle in which Hay the Ploughman thus distinguished himself was fought A.D. 990, in that parish of Luncarty in Perthshire of which Young, Milton's first preceptor, was a native.

4. "*Kenneth.* Who, having privily poisoned Malcolm Duff, that "his own son might succeed, is slain by Fenella (Scotch Hist. pp. 157, 158, &c.)." A.D. 994.

5. "*Macbeth.* Beginning at the arrival of Malcolm at Macduff. "The matter of Duncan may be expressed by the appearing of his "ghost." Milton seems to have thought this subject capable of another treatment than Shakespeare's.

The very multitudinousness of the subjects thus collected proves that most of them were jotted down on chance and never thought of after the moment. At the utmost, Milton could hope that at his leisure, after having treated whichever he might select in chief, he might be able to go back, for minor works, on one or two of the others. It is interesting, however, to notice the subjects that seemed, while he was in the course of collecting them, to attract him most. Among the Scriptural subjects they were undoubtedly

[1] The Book referred to as the authority for this and the other Scottish Stories was, doubtless, the English adaptation of Bellenden's translation of the *Scotorum Historiæ* of Hector Boethius, printed with Holinshed's Chronicles.

Paradise Lost, Abraham from Morea, Sodom Burning, Moabitides, Abijah, Baptistes, and *Christus Patiens;* while in his survey of British History we see him hovering most fondly, as was natural, over the critical points or epochs, and accordingly weighing most carefully the claims of such subjects as *Vortiger and the Saxons, Alfred and the Danes, Harold and the Normans.* In the peculiar entry under the jotting of Alfred as a subject there is proof that, though the dramatic form was chiefly in favour with him for the time, he had not entirely committed himself to that form against the epic; and the occurrence of one or two pastoral subjects in the Biblical list shows that, within the dramatic form, he had thoughts of quieter varieties than pure tragedy. It is curious also to note the proof of the tenacity of Milton's mind which is furnished by the comparison of this list of his projects in his early manhood with the works which he did actually accomplish ere he died. "Paradise Lost" is here under its very name; "Paradise Regained" is involved in some of the New Testament subjects; "Samson Agonistes" is here in the form of two proposed subjects from Samson's life; and, though Milton never attempted an epic or a drama from British History before the Conquest, did he not publish at length his prose "History of Britain?" Undoubtedly, however, the most startling inference from the list, its chief biographical revelation, is the fact, hitherto overlooked or too little adverted to, that as early as 1640 Milton's thoughts were full of the subject of "Paradise Lost." It was with a view to a Drama, indeed, that he then entertained the subject; but the pre-eminence it takes in the list, on this understanding, over all the other subjects, is very remarkable. It stands first of all; there are three drafts of it at once, and a fourth draft some time afterwards, set down with a direction to compare it with the last of the former three; and altogether this single subject occupies nearly a page and a half of the entire seven pages of Jottings. There are few facts in literary history more striking than this predetermination of Milton in his early manhood to the subject of the greatest work of his later life.

But, though "Paradise Lost," as the first subject in the list, may have been jotted down as early as 1639-40, may it not have been a year or two before the list of jottings was completed? It seems probable to me that the sheets containing the jottings lay beside Milton throughout the whole of 1640, and even into 1641 and 1642, and were added to from time to time. Some of the schemes of subjects, and some of the little additions or afterthoughts that were inserted in others with the pen, bear evidence in their phraseology that the passing events of these years had helped to suggest them. On the whole, however, I conclude that 1640 saw most of the jottings made, and certainly that they did not remain in hand long after the middle of 1641. The following passage from *The Reason of Church Government* is to the point. That pamphlet, it is to be remembered, was written towards the end of 1641, or two years after our present date; and the passage comes immediately after those already quoted from it, and winds up Milton's account there given of the literary plans and dreams which had occupied him from the time of his return from abroad on to the moment when the political agitations of the country had interrupted these plans and dreams and compelled him to throw aside poetry for sterner work. "Time serves not "now," he says, "and perhaps I might seem too profuse, to "give any certain account of what the mind at home, in "the spacious circuits of her musing, hath liberty to propose "to herself, though of highest hope and hardest attempting "—whether that Epic form whereof the two poems of "Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso, are a "diffuse, and the Book of Job, a brief model; or whether "the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or "nature to be followed, which in them that know art and use "judgment is no transgression, but an enriching of art; and "lastly, what King or Knight before the Conquest might be "chosen, in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian hero. "And, as Tasso gave to a prince of Italy his choice whether "he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition "against the Infidels, or Belisarius against the Goths, or

" Charlemain against the Lombards, if to the instinct of " nature and the emboldening of art aught may be trusted, " and that there be nothing adverse in our climate or the fate " of this age, it haply would be no rashness, from an equal " diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in our " own ancient stories. Or whether those Dramatic consti- " tutions wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign shall be " found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation: the Scrip- " ture also affords us a divine Pastoral Drama in the Song of " Solomon, consisting of two persons and a double chorus, as " Origen rightly judges; and the Apocalypse of Saint John is " the majestic image of a high and stately Tragedy, shutting " up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a " sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies " (and this my opinion the grave authority of Paræus,[1] com- " menting that Book, is sufficient to confirm). Or if occa- " sion shall lead to imitate those magnific Odes and Hymns " wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things " worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their " matter most and end faulty; but those frequent Songs " throughout the Law and the Prophets beyond all these, not " in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art " of composition, may be easily made appear over all the " kinds of Lyric Poesy to be incomparable. These abilities, " wheresoever they may be found, are the inspired gift of " God, rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) " in every nation, and are of power, beside the office of " a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds " of virtue and public civility, to allay the perturbations of " the mind, and to set the affections in right tune to cele- " brate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equi- " page of God's Almightiness, and what He works, and " what He suffers to be wrought with high providence in His " Church; to sing the victorious agonies of Martyrs and " Saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations " doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ;

[1] David Paræus, or Paré, German Protestant theologian and commentator, 1548-1622.

" to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from " justice and God's true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in " religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, " whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes " of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily " subtleties and refluxes of man's thoughts from within,—all " these things with a solid and treatable smoothness to paint " out and describe; teaching over the whole book of sanctity " and virtue, through all the instances of example, with such " delight, to those especially of soft and delicious temper " who will not so much as look upon Truth herself unless " they see her elegantly drest, that, whereas the paths of " honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though " they be indeed easy and pleasant, they would then appear " to all men both easy and pleasant though they were rugged " and difficult indeed. And what a benefit this would be to " our youth and gentry may be soon guessed by what we " know of the corruption and bane which they suck in daily " from the writings and interludes of libidinous and ignorant " poetasters, who, having scarce ever heard of that which is " the main consistence of a true poem—the choice of such " persons as they ought to introduce, and what is moral and " decent to each one—do for the most part lap up vicious " principles in sweet pills, to be swallowed down, and make " the taste of virtuous documents harsh and sour."

Is not this a virtual, nay an all but literal, description by Milton of those seven pages of his private MS. jottings which have been detaining us, and of his poetic meditations among them till the call to sterner work compelled him to lay them aside?

Yes, Milton's plans of great poems or works of pure literature of any kind were not long to last! Even while he was writing these jottings and indulging in these dreams England was drifting on through a second *Bellum Episcopale*, or war with the Scots concerning Bishops, the consequences of which were not to stop within Scotland, but were to involve England herself from end to end. Not the less is it pleasant to think of Milton, as this chapter has presented him to us,

during his brief breathing-time of peace and poetic scheming before the great interruption came. Do we not see him? There, through the winter of 1639–40, he sits among his books and papers, in his lodging in St. Bride's Churchyard, his two boy-nephews occasionally with him, or more often in an adjoining room, the bustle of Fleet Street and Ludgate Hill well shut out, or only at nights the not unpleasing melancholy of the wintry London gusts mingling with the quiet and warmth within. The very thoughts that then made up Milton's musings are known to us, and we can see the books that were chiefly on his table. His thoughts were of the Italian scenes and friends so recently left and yet bright in his memory, of the sad death of Diodati and of the poorer English world remaining for himself now that Diodati was gone; yet also of his own duties in that world, foreseen from youth, but now beginning to press through maturity of years and experience. He was to teach the English nation a new ideal of Literature, and for that purpose he must leave his minor Poems behind for what they were worth, and set about works of higher and larger structure that should task his utmost powers. For such works there must be preparation. There must be a due apparatus of material, and of selection and extract from amid that material. Well, there it is! All round his room are books, but there are a few that are habitually in use. They are the Bible (in English and in the originals), some Latin commentaries on the Bible of recognized merit, Holinshed's Chronicles of England and Scotland, Speed's Chronicle, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum*, William of Malmesbury's *De Gestis Regum*, and one or two others. Over these he pores day after day, reading, ruminating, and making notes. The Seven Pages of Jottings which now form pp. 35—41 of the volume of Milton MSS. at Cambridge were the chief immediate result of those readings. Those pages once lay under Milton's fingers. They were begun, I calculate, in the winter of 1639–40, but may have been continued through 1640 and perhaps into 1641 and 1642. And so, for the present, we leave Milton, books

before him, pen in hand, and the Jottings, which the reader has just seen in their complete state, not yet quite in that state, but only in progress.[1]

[1] A very vigilant reader may require more exact proof than has been furnished in the text that the Seven Pages of Jottings of Subjects in the Cambridge MS. volume do belong to the years 1639-42, or the year or two immediately following Milton's return from his Italian journey. Here, therefore, are the heads of the proof:—(1) That the Jottings cannot have been made *before* the Italian journey is proved, not only by the fact that the scheme of a future Poem with which Milton entertained himself during that journey, and for a little while after his return from it, was one quite apart from the Jottings, but also by the evidence of the handwriting. In specimens of Milton's autograph before the Italian journey, including the draft of his *Lycidas*, written in Nov. 1637, the small letter *e* is, all but invariably, shaped in the Greek form (ε); but after his return from Italy, and probably in consequence of his stay there, his all but uniform habit was to shape it much as we do now (e). This furnishes a useful test of date to be applied to Milton's handwriting in many cases; and, as applied to the Jottings, it is conclusive that they cannot have been made *earlier* than 1639. The Greek form of the e is superseded in them by our present form. (2) Milton was totally blind in 1652, and for several years before that he had practically ceased to use his own hand in any continuous writing. The latest piece in his own handwriting in the Cambridge volume is a Sonnet of date 1648; the next latest is a Sonnet of date 1646; and the pieces in his hand of later date than 1642 are very few. As the Jottings are an extensive and rather elaborate mass of handwriting, with corrections, interlineations, and close-packing, which must have required the full use of eyesight, it seems fair, on that ground alone, to make the year 1648 the utmost limit of *their* possibility. (3) A minute examination of the Cambridge volume, in respect of paper, water-mark, and other such mechanical particulars, shows a certain continuity in the eight sheets forming its middle and larger portion. The entire volume consists of 54 pages, and these middle eight sheets of it are the 32 pages from p. 11 to p. 42 inclusively. They contain the Draft of *Comus*, the Draft of *Lycidas*, and the JOTTINGS, and in such a manner that these form a little mass of autograph by themselves, separated by blank pages from what precedes in the volume and from what follows. The suggestion to the eye is that the JOTTINGS either were written in an unoccupied part of a thin paper-book which already contained the Drafts of *Comus* and *Lycidas*, or were written on sheets of the same paper still in possession. Either way, the JOTTINGS are brought pretty close to *Lycidas*. (4) It would be difficult to find a time in Milton's life after 1641 when he could have been at leisure, or in the mood, for such Jottings, and the literary balancings and hesitations which they indicate. (5) From a statement in Phillips's Life of Milton, illustrated by Aubrey's notes, it distinctly appears that Phillips had heard some lines of *Paradise Lost* read to him by his uncle as early as about 1642. This proves that Milton had by that time done more with the first great subject among the Jottings than merely register it. (6) The passage quoted in the text from *The Reason of Church Government*, and other passages in the same treatise, would alone be conclusive. That treatise was written at the end of 1641; and the passages in question exhibit Milton as if actually looking at the Jottings lying on his table, taking the public into his confidence respecting them, and explaining with what regret he had in that year torn himself away from such literary contemplations and labours in order to embark in politics.

CHAPTER III.

EPISCOPAL ALARMS IN ENGLAND—BISHOP HALL'S *EPISCOPACY BY DIVINE RIGHT*—THE SHORT PARLIAMENT—THE SECOND "BISHOPS' WAR" WITH THE SCOTS—CALLING OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

THE Scots had duly held their second General Assembly, as authorized by the Pacification of Birks. It met at Edinburgh, with David Dickson as Moderator, and sat from the 12th to the 30th of August, 1639. Ostensibly it discussed matters *de novo;* but in reality it reasserted and confirmed all the decisions of the Glasgow Assembly of 1638. The Parliament promised at the Pacification had also met, with no Prelates in it, but only the nobles, and representatives of the lairds, and of the burghs. Thwarted, however, at every step by the King's Commissioner, Traquair, this Parliament (Aug. 31—Nov. 14) had not been able to do much. Its most important act was the nomination of a committee of twenty-two of its number to watch proceedings till June 2, 1640, the day to which it stood prorogued. Still, in the main, Scotland was at ease. She had swept away her Bishops, and was able to rejoice once more in an apparatus of simple Presbyterianism.

EPISCOPAL ALARMS IN ENGLAND: BISHOP HALL'S *EPISCOPACY BY DIVINE RIGHT.*

In England the prevalent feeling continued to be that of sympathy with the Scots. To this feeling, however, there were some exceptions. More particularly among the English clergy, and among those laymen who had an affection for the

existing forms and constitution of the Church of England, there was a sense of danger and provocation. There was both danger and provocation in the proximity of a kirk so zealous in its assertion of anti-Episcopal principles as that of the Scots, and viewed with such ominous interest by a large body of the English people. It might not be great matter of regret, so far as the Scots were themselves concerned, that they had modelled their jagged little portion of the island to their own fashion, and rejected the benefits of a Liturgy and the order of Bishops! But had not the success of the Scots been a blow to the cause of Episcopacy generally? Was not the Church of England challenged and menaced, and was not some demonstration necessary to set that Church right both with her own members and with the world at large? If the Scots must be let go, should they not be let go execrated and excommunicated, rather than with the honours of victory?

These feelings found a spokesman in that Dr. Joseph Hall, bishop of Exeter, of whom we have already had glimpses in this History. Known in his youth as "the English Persius," on account of his coarsish but masculine metrical satires, and afterwards styled "the English Seneca," on account of his more numerous prose-writings, this Prelate had hitherto been in greater favour with the Puritans than most of his brethren. He was regarded as a Prelate of the old Calvinistic, rather than of the Laudian, school. He had even been in conflict with Laud, while Laud was rising into the ascendancy. Of late, however, he had been approximating to Laud: I should even say that he had been toadying Laud in secret. I have seen disagreeable private letters of information written by him to Laud respecting nests of Sectaries in London whom it would be well to extirpate; and my distinct impression is that, in his conduct generally, and even in his writings, when carefully examined, there will be found a meaner element than our literary dilettanti and antiquaries have been able to discern in so celebrated a bishop. Now, at all events, in his sixty-sixth year, he

came forward in a way that was to give a marked character to the whole remainder of his life.

The circumstances are these:—The second General Assembly of the Scots had published their Acts. Hall, in his palace at Exeter, had procured a copy of them, and had been reading with indignation the stuff put forth by "these ignorant factionists." He is so moved that, the very next day (Sept. 28), he writes to Laud at Lambeth.[1] As the reconquest of Scotland to the true Church by the sword was not now to be hoped, might not means be taken, he asks, at least to counteract the mischievous nonsense which the Scots were propagating? What, for example, if his Grace were to advise his Majesty to call a General Synod of the bishops, doctors, and other dignitaries "of the whole three kingdoms" to discuss the "schismatical points"? Would not the effect be, if not "chokingly to convince" the Scottish schismatics, at least to "hiss them out of countenance"? To this suggestion Laud, after consulting the King, replies that there are strong reasons of State against the calling of any such Synod, but that Hall's zeal is to be commended, and that, if he himself were to employ his well-known powers in a written confutation of the Scottish schismatics, the result might be little less authoritative. Hall is a little taken aback by the honour so proposed to him, and he intimates (Oct. 18) that it would be more comfortable for him to be associated in the work with a select jury of other bishops and divines. Might not Laud himself, if his Grace's leisure would allow him, appear at the head of "the learned squadron," together with Morton of Durham and Davenant of Salisbury for England, Primate Usher and bishops Bedell and Lesley for Ireland, and some of the exiled Scottish bishops for Scotland? Laud having, in his reply, objected to this plan, on account of "the danger of variance," Hall does at length undertake the work assigned to him, on condition that he shall have the benefit of Laud's private

[1] The originals of this and the following letters of Hall referred to in the text, together with Laud's replies, are in the State Paper Office.

advice during its progress. Accordingly there follows a most characteristic correspondence between the two prelates. Hall first sends Laud a general outline or "platform" of the treatise he means to write, with a rather abject request for his Grace's corrections and amendments; and Laud uses the liberty thus given him in a way which shows what a source of power he had over larger but less sincere natures than his own, in his extreme definiteness of opinion and his habit of sharply taking exception to whatever he disliked. The substance of his criticism on Hall's "platform" is that Hall concedes too much, and that, high as he places the claims of Episcopacy, he does not place them high enough. Why, for example, concede that "the Presbyterian government may be of use where Episcopacy may not be had"? What place in all Christendom was there, having a Church "more than in title only," where Episcopacy might *not* be had? And then, for safely steering the argument in behalf of Anglican Episcopacy between the "Italian rock" of the Ultramontanists on the one hand and the "great rock in the Lake of Geneva" on the other, might not Hall take this method? Against the Romanists, who admit in bishops only a *jus divinum mediatum*, "by, from, and under the Pope," why not assert a *jus divinum immediatum*, "which makes the Church aristocratical in bishops;" and against the Genevans, some of whom did not deny Episcopacy to be *juris divini ut suadentis vel approbantis*, so long as it was not made *imperantis*—nay, some of whom, as Beza, had gone so far as to allow it might be *juris divini imperantis*, so long as it was not made *universaliter imperantis*—why not maintain absolutely and universally the divine right of Episcopacy? In any case, would Hall be so good as to send his treatise to Lambeth, bit by bit, as it was written, that there might be farther consideration of it? With some evidence of a feeling on Hall's part that he is "in for it" with his resolute little superior, and would like at least to have an "attestation" from other bishops of their agreement with him, he acquiesces in everything; and the result is the appearance in London, in the course of February 1639-40, of a small quarto volume of about 280 pages

entitled "*Episcopacy by Divine Right asserted by Jos. Hall, Bishop of Exon.*"[1]

This treatise of Bishop Hall's fell upon public opinion in England with great force, and was to have graver consequences than Hall anticipated. In Scotland, however, it does not seem to have attracted so much attention as a smaller anonymous satirical quarto of 78 pages, published about the same time, under the title of "*The Epistle Congratulatorie of Lysimachus Nicanor, of the Societie of Jesu, to the Covenanters of Scotland, wherein is paralleled our sweet harmony and correspondency in divers materiall points of Doctrine and Practice.*"[2] The author of this pamphlet is now known to have been a Scot, named John Corbet, once a minister in Dumbartonshire, who, absconding from the Covenanting kirk, had gone over to Ireland and was writing there under Wentworth's protection.[3] Baillie, who had just finished a little treatise of his own on the errors of the Laudians, thought it worth while to append some reference to Lysimachus Nicanor's pamphlet; and, accordingly, by way of counterblast to the two pamphlets on the Episcopal side, there came forth at Edinburgh "*Ladensium* Αυτοκατακρισις *The Canterburian's Self-conviction: or an Evident Demonstration of the avowed Arminianism, Poperie, and Tyrannie of that Faction, by their own Confessions: with a Postscript to the personate Jesuite, Lysimachus Nicanor, a prime Canterburian.*"[4]

These three pamphlets, of Hall, Corbet, and Baillie, were all in circulation early in 1640.

RESOLUTIONS FOR WAR: THE SHORT PARLIAMENT.

It was not to be only a war of the pen. Even while making the Peace with the Scots at Berwick, and holding conferences with their chief negotiators, Rothes, Loudoun, and Hender-

[1] Registered at Stationers' Hall, Feb. 10, 1639–40, and published by Nathaniel Butter at the Pied Bull, St. Augustine's Gate.

[2] Registered at Stationers' Hall, Feb. 19, 1639–40, by Richard Badger and Mr. Young, booksellers.

[3] Baillie, I. 163 and 243.

[4] "Revised according to the ordinance of the General Assembly, by Mr. A. Johnstone, clerk thereunto," and published in April 1640.

son, Charles had been writing over to Wentworth, expressing his hope that he might soon have another trial of "the kingly way" with the "rebels" and "incendiaries;" and though, after his return to London, he was for some time "very melancholic,"[1] his spirits rose as months went on. Irritation was kept up with the Scots by complaints of their proceedings in their second Assembly and their Parliament; messengers whom they sent to Court were denied audience; and Windebank and his Home-office officials began new arrests of London citizens, and searches of their houses for papers, on suspicion of complicity with the Scots.[2] And such proceedings were but symptoms of a resolution that was forming itself in the King's more private councils. Wentworth, on whom the King was now learning, rather late in the day, to place more dependence than on himself, came over by express invitation from Ireland (Oct.), wretchedly invalid with gout and other disorders, but with a soul of iron still in his shattered body.[3] People noticed the fact, the rather because now more than ever was the King often closeted with a cabinet or junto of ministers distinct from the general body of his Council. Of this junto, besides Wentworth, were Laud, Hamilton, Cottington, and Windebank. But the public could hardly have been prepared for the issue of the deliberations of this junto. "December 5," writes Laud in his Diary, "the King declared his resolution for a Parliament in case "of the Scottish Rebellion (the first movers to it were my "Lord Deputy of Ireland, my Lord Marquis Hamilton, and "myself), and a resolution voted at the Board to assist the "King in extraordinary ways, if the Parliament should prove "peevish and refuse."[4] That Charles should have consented now to the calling of a Parliament, after eleven years during which it had almost been treason in England to mention the word *Parliament*, shows the severity of the exigency. Went-

[1] Clarendon's Hist. 51.

[2] Among the houses so searched was that of "John Hutton, the scrivener, near Gray's Inn," whom I identify with the person of the same name who had been "servant" or apprentice to Milton's father sixteen years before. Warrant, of date Sept. 23, 1639, in the S. P. O. See Vol. I. p. 48.

[3] *Strafford Letters*, from June to Oct. 1639.

[4] There is a State Paper, of date Dec. 5, 1639, to the same effect.

worth, who had never shared the King's extreme horror of Parliaments, and whose Irish experience had persuaded him that Parliaments, if well bitted and managed, might be made to assist in the policy of "Thorough" rather than impede it, had doubtless over-argued the King's reluctance.

While the summonses were out for the new Parliament, to be held on the 13th of April, and while the word *Parliament* was leaping from mouth to mouth, with a strange thrill in the sound, throughout the shires of England, all means were taken to pre-adjust the Parliament to its purpose, and to aid that purpose should the Parliament fail. There were frequent meetings of the Council; in which body there were some changes about this time. The Earls of Northumberland, Newport, and Berkshire had been recently added to it; the death (Jan. 1639-40) of the Lord Keeper Coventry led to the promotion to his high place of Sir John Finch, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and in lieu of Secretary Coke, who had been in disgrace since the Pacification of Birks (he was near fourscore years of age, and nobody cared for him, says Clarendon), there was appointed the Treasurer Sir Henry Vane, with a fixed division of duties between him and the other Secretary, Windebank.[1] It having happened also that the resident Scottish Secretary of State, the poetical Earl of Stirling, died about this time (Feb. 1639-40), Lord Lanark, a brother of the Marquis of Hamilton, was appointed to that post. A certain number of the councillors, with officers not of the Council, were formed into a Council of War, and from this Council of War were chosen those who were to command in the new expedition against the Scots.[2] There was no thought this time of the art-loving Arundel for commander-in-chief. The Earl of Northumberland, official High Admiral already, was nominated instead. As Lieutenant-General under him was to be no other than Wentworth; while for

[1] Various memoranda in S. P. O. of attendances at council meetings about this time, these attendances varying from about 10 to about 20; letter of Reade in S. P. O. of date Jan. 13, 1639–40; letter of same, *ibid.* Jan. 23; letter of Coke himself, dated "Garlick Hill," Feb. 3, recommending a servant to his successor Vane.

[2] There is in the S. P. O. a list of this Council of War set down by the King's own hand on the day of their appointment, Dec. 30, 1639.

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